

The American Convention  
of Abolition Societies  
1794-1829

The  
American Convention  
FOR PROMOTING THE  
**ABOLITION OF SLAVERY**  
AND IMPROVING  
THE CONDITION OF  
THE AFRICAN RACE

*Minutes, Constitution, Addresses,  
Memorials, Resolutions, Reports,  
Committees and Anti-Slavery Tracts*

Complete and Unabridged in Three Volumes

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Minutes of  
*The*  
*American Convention*  
for Promoting the  
Abolition of Slavery  
and Improving the  
Condition of the  
African Race

*Volume Three:*  
Eighteenth to Twenty-first Convention  
1823-1829



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# MINUTES

OF THE

EIGHTEENTH SESSION

OF THE

## AMERICAN CONVENTION

FOR PROMOTING THE

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY,

AND IMPROVING

THE CONDITION OF THE AFRICAN RACE.

CONVENED AT PHILADELPHIA,

On the Seventh day of October, 1823.

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PHILADELPHIA;

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE CONVENTION,

By Daniel Neall, upon the Vertical Press, North Second St.

.....  
1823.

*Eighteenth Convention/801*



## MINUTES.

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### SELECT COUNSEL CHAMBER.

**A**T a meeting of the American Convention, for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. held at Philadelphia, 10th Month, (October) 7th. 1828, William Rawle, Esq. was appointed Chairman, and Thomas Shipley, Secretary.

Communications were received from the Societies at Rhode-Island, New-York, Pennsylvania and Tennessee, by which it appeared the following persons were appointed Delegates to this Convention viz :

#### *New-York.*

Joshua Underhill,	Samuel Wood,
John Stearns, M. D.	Ira Clizbe, Esqr.
Isaac M. Ely,	Robert F. Mott.

#### *Pennsylvania.*

William Rawle, Esqr.	Thomas Shipley,
John Keating, Jr. Esqr.	Isaac Barton,
Jos. W. Rowland,	Abraham L. Pennock.
Roberts Vaux,	William Baker,
Solomon Temple,	Philip Price, Jr.

#### *Rhode-Island.*

Otis Ammidon,	Arnold Buffum.
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#### *Tennessee.*

Benjamin Lundy.

Of whom were present from Rhode-Island, Otis Ammidon, Arnold Buffum, New-York, Joshua Underhill, Ira Clizbe, Pennsylvania, William Rawle Esqr. Thomas Shipley, Isaac

**Barton, Jos. W. Rowland, Roberts Vaux, William Baker, Solomon Temple, Philip Price, Jr. Tennessee, Benjamin Lundy.**

A number of the Delegates being absent—on motion adjourned to 4 o'clock P. M.

Convention met pursuant to adjournment present William Rawle, Esqr. in the Chair.

*Rhode-Island.*

Otis Ammidon, Arnold Buffum.

*New-York.*

Joshua Underhill, Ira Clizbe,

*Pennsylvania.*

William Rawle,	Thomas Shipley,
John Keating Jr.	Isaac Barton,
Jos. W. Rowland,	Abraham L. Pennock,
William Baker,	Soloman Temple,

Philip Price, Jr.

*Tennessee.*

Benjamin Lundy.

and Evan Lewis, John Walis, Benjamin Ferris, Joseph Bringham, Delegates from the Delaware Society, Lea Pusey and Abraham Marshall, Delegates from the Society at Chester County, Pa. who presented their Credentials and took their seats in the Convention.

The Convention proceeded to ballot for Officers, Philip Price Jr. and Thomas Shipley, were appointed Tellers, who reported the following persons as duly elected viz:

<i>President,</i>	WILLIAM RAWLE, Esq.
<i>Vice-President,</i>	EVAN LEWIS.
<i>Secretaries,</i>	IRA CLISBE, Esq.
	THOMAS SHIPLEY.
<i>Treasurer,</i>	ABRAHAM L. PENNOCK.

The President requesting leave of absence the Vice-President Evan Lewis, took the Chair.

After which Addresses from the Manumission Societies of Providence, R. I. New-York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Tennessee and Chester County, Pa. to the Convention were severally read.



## ADDRESS.

### *From the New-York Manumission Society*



To "The American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the African Race," to meet at Philadelphia, in its eighteenth Session, on the seventh day of tenth month 1823.

The New-York Society for promoting the Manumission of Slaves, &c. have been favoured with the printed Address and Minutes of the last Session of the Convention. We observe, with satisfaction, the Convention's diligent and persevering attention to the general subject of Slavery; and we doubt not, that by a constant and temperate exertion on the part of their advocates, the cause of the injured descendants of Africa, may yet be brought home to the feelings and magnanimity of the American people; from whose justice, when the subject is fairly understood, may be expected a restitution of all their rights and privileges.

It is believed, that the condition of Slaves in the Southern States, is already, in a considerable degree ameliorated; that the punishments to which they are now subjected, are less frequent and less severe than those which were formerly inflicted; that a sufficiency of food and clothing, is now pretty generally dispensed to them; that there is now more regard paid to the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, than formerly; that the breaking up and separating of fam-

ilies, by sale, has seriously arrested the attention of many Masters; and that some care is taken, to prevent occurrences of this kind. There are now not unfrequent instances of Slaves' being taught to read; and, in some places, they are allowed to assemble for religious worship. Instances of the wanton abuse of Slaves, are much less frequent; and the killing of a Slave, has become a very rare occurrence. In some of the Southern States, the killing of a Negro, is, by Law, declared to be murder, and made punishable with death. The trade in Slaves, between the different States, has also much diminished. These appearances of improvement in the condition of the coloured population of the Southern States, induce us to believe, that the minds of the Slave-holders are more enlightened than formerly, and that a different and a better feeling towards their Slaves, now animates the hearts of many of them; to encourage and foster which, in every proper manner, is deemed of the utmost importance to the cause of Emancipation.

In most of the States North and East of Maryland, Laws have been enacted for the gradual extinction of slavery, and for the protection of people of colour; and little else of a local nature, remains for the Abolitionists of those States to do, than to see that those Laws are enforced,—to exact the penalties from those who violate them; and to endeavour to extend to the coloured people the benefits of learning and of the useful Arts.

Our Standing Committee continue to give a prompt attention to all cases of complaint, in regard to abuse, or illegal detention in Slavery. Forty-Six new cases have come before them, since we last addressed the Convention, twenty-eight cases resulted in the liberation of the complainants; and thirteen cases are now under the Committee's care.

Our Schools continue to be conducted by able and experienced teachers; and the improvement of the children is satisfactory and encouraging. The number of children, of both sexes, now taught in them, is about eight-hundred.

It is believed, that the subject of education has of late more generally and more effectually engaged the attention of our fellow-citizens throughout the United States, than it formerly did; And that the importance of it, is now more deeply felt and more justly appreciated, in every part of our country. And we are confident, that, as this subject is attended to, and the benefits of school learning are more and more diffused through those States where Slaves are yet held, in the same proportion, will an amelioration of their condition take place, till they are every where admitted to a participation of the benefits of our free Constitution. The spirit of our Government and of all our Institutions is *Liberty*; and the practice of holding men in bondage, is not more repugnant to justice in the abstract, than to the principles for which our fathers contended, and upon which they raised the fabrick of our excellent Constitution:—principles that are inwoven with the genius of our people, and that are dear to the heart of every sincere friend to rational liberty. Who that is instructed in the history of our country, and that is acquainted with the grievances that prompted our ancestors to arms, can fail to be animated with a desire to wipe away the foul stain which Slavery has fixed upon our national character? As the benefits of education are extended, both among ourselves and the coloured people, the principles of liberty and justice will be more generally recognized and felt; and, before their influence, Slavery, with all its attendant evils, will gradually disappear.

In works of philanthropy, however, it is necessary to be charitable as well as active. It ought not to be forgotten that some of those whose names we venerate and whose useful services will be appreciated while the history of our country is preserved, were not guiltless of this very practice, which we now justly hold to be so opprobrious, and so derogatory to our national character. And, as we are disposed to cast the mantle of charity over what we cannot justify in the conduct of the departed, so ought we, in the same disposition, to forbear asperity in treating of what we



consider blameworthy in the conduct of the living. The desire of gain, (a passion which is lawful, when its means are so,) is, doubtless, the moving cause of the evil in question. But, when we reflect upon the tendency of this passion to warp the judgment,—when we consider the vast amount of property invested in such a manner, as to depend, (in the opinion of the slave-holder,) almost entirely on the labour of Slaves; and when we remember, also, that the Masters and the Slaves have, in a great measure, been reared together, and both become habituated to their respective states, the latter almost as unconscious of the wrongs they suffer, as the former are thoughtless of the injuries they commit, it ceases to be matter of surprise, that the avenues to the better feelings of the heart, should be obstructed, and that conviction should be slow and difficult. But it is some alleviation to the mortification which these considerations fasten upon us, to know, that, as the light of Reason and Religion have advanced, Slavery has receded; and a sense of justice has prompted endeavours to redress, in some measure, the wrongs too long endured by the unhappy descendants of Africa. These effects, which we have seen in the East, we hope ere long to behold in the South. Already has the condition of Slaves in that section, become, in a considerable degree, amended. Already does the injustice of Slavery begin to be confessed by the slave-holders; and the difficulties that surrounded them; to be felt and expressed. That men resident at the South, and acquainted with all the circumstances of Slavery as it there exists, should be the most competent to suggest the means of lessening or extirpating this evil, is but a reasonable supposition. That some who are qualified for this work of Philanthropy, will ere long discover themselves, in that section of our country, is greatly to be hoped. The triumph of the Laws over the unconstitutional act of South Carolina, evinced both independence and fearless justice in the judge.—It was a correct and dignified recognition of the rights of free persons of colour; and there is no reason to believe that the question will be carried to a higher tribunal.

There are *three* great objects, which appear to us to deserve the consideration of the Convention. The *first* is, to effect the total emancipation of Slaves in the District of Columbia. This it is considered, is imperiously demanded by a just and decent regard to the character of the United States of America. The *second* is, to effect an alteration in the Laws of the slave-holding States, so as to allow conscientious masters, under reasonable circumstances, to manumit their Slaves. This object, though not less important, it will probably be more difficult to effect. The *third* is to impress the public mind with the importance of extending the benefits of education to the coloured people; and to cause to be annulled those restrictions on their literary instruction, which have been enacted by some of the southern States.

We have observed with interest the steps which the Convention have already taken in regard to the first of these great objects, and we hope they will not be discouraged, nor stop short of the accomplishment of that object.

The plan for the universal emancipation of Slaves, submitted to the Convention at their last Session, has been laid before this Society, and our attention distinctly turned to it. We think favourably of its general features, though we have been led to doubt the expediency, if not the propriety, of recommending at this time, that "slaves should be attached to the soil." Notwithstanding, however, this favourable opinion entertained by this Society, we would recommend, that the plan alluded to, be carefully reconsidered, in all its parts, by the Convention, at their present Session: as the opinions of that body are looked to with interest and deference, it is important that, in all cases, they be formed with deliberation, and founded upon clear evidences.

We observe with satisfaction that endeavours are still used, in foreign countries, and particularly in England, to expose the iniquity of the Slave Trade, and to prepare the way for universal emancipation. The African Association, seven-

and other Societies, and many distinguished individuals, continue to exert themselves in behalf of the oppressed.

THE OFFICERS OF THIS SOCIETY ARE:

Cadwallader D. Colden,	<i>President.</i>
George Newbold,	1st. <i>Vice-President.</i>
Peter Augustus Jay,	2d. <i>do.</i>
Goold Brown,	<i>Secretary.</i>
Thomas P. Brown,	<i>Assistant Secretary.</i>
Robert C. Cornell.	<i>Treasurer.</i>
Joseph Corlies,	<i>Register.</i>

Samuel Willits,	<i>Chairman.</i>	} OF STANDING COMMITTEE.
Joseph F. Carroll,	<i>Secretary.</i>	

Hugh M'Cormick,	<i>Chairman.</i>	} OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES.
William W. Mott,	<i>Secretary.</i>	

Dr. John Stearns,	<i>Chairman.</i>	} OF THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE.
Isaac M. Ely,	<i>Secretary.</i>	

Joshua Underhill,	<i>Chairman.</i>	} OF THE COMMITTEE OF WAYS & MEANS.
Joseph Corlies,	<i>Secretary.</i>	

COUNSELLORS.

Cadwallader D. Colden,	Peter A. Jay,
Thomas Addis Emmett,	William Slosser.
Benjamin Clark,	Isaac M. Ely,
William Sampson,	Hiram Ketchum.

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We have appointed the following members, as Delegates to the Convention viz:

Joshua Underhill, Dr. John Stearns, Isaac M. Ely, Samuel Wood, Ira Clizbe and Robert F. Mott.

CADWALLADER D. COLDEN, *President.*

GOOLD BROWN, *Secretary.*

New-York, 10 Mo. 1823.

*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition  
of Slavery and improving the condition of the African  
Race.*

We address you at this time, with feelings of anxious solicitude for the success of our united exertions in the great cause in which we have embarked.

Perhaps at no period were the efforts of Philanthropists more necessary to enlighten the public mind than the present.

Recent events in the Western part of our country have shewn, that the most deplorable ignorance prevails, respecting the baneful effects of Slavery ; instead of witnessing the gradual advancement of emancipation to reduce the number of Slaves in the United States, we have had with sorrow to observe their numbers progressively increase:— Raised like cattle for the market, they are driven from one State to another, and sold to the highest bidder. We have seen with astonishment and regret, that the Slave trader no longer fearful of reproach, has dared to propose to the Citizens of Illinois and Indiana, to change their free Constitutions, and to become the holders of Slaves ; and while we lament that the Historian must record that this proposal was listened to and acted on, in Indiana, we congratulate the friends of Humanity that there was virtue enough in the State, finally to reject it by a large majority. The trial has yet to be passed in Illinois, and we are well assured that it will there be opposed by the United efforts of the Wise and the Good ; and we hope we may rely on the mercy of an overruling Providence to open the eyes of the Citizens of that State to the depth of the Gulph which is yawning before them. It is indeed matter of astonishment that while the representatives of these very States in Congress, were engaged in the passage of a law, condemning the Slave trade as piracy that this horrid proposal should have been listened to for a moment.

We have still to deplore that the crime of kidnapping

continues to be perpetrated. The existence of a trade in Slaves from one State to another appears to us to call loudly for a remedy: its inconsistency with our efforts against a foreign Slave trade must be manifest to all: We would respectfully call your attention to this subject as its abolition will in our opinion, be the only effectual preventive to the crime of Kidnapping.

Several of our Citizens pursuing their lawful occupations as Mariners having been imprisoned in the port of Charleston, S. C. pursuant to a Law forbidding free Coloured persons from entering that State, under the penalty of imprisonment, and a liability to be sold as Slaves, this Society petitioned the Legislature of Pennsylvania, to interfere in their behalf, but the Session closing soon after, it was not acted on; since that period the case of a coloured British Seaman has been brought before Judge Johnson by Habeas Corpus, who declared the Law unconstitutional; but from recent accounts it appears the officers of that State, pay no regard to his decision: a copy of his opinion, with the Law, will accompany this address; and we recommend the subject to the early attention of the Convention.

While these discouraging circumstances should stimulate us to persevere in our endeavours to procure a change in the minds of the Rulers of Slave holding States, we have occasion to rejoice, in contemplating the efforts of our brethren in England. The Philanthropists of that enlightened country have arisen in their might, and the cry of the oppressed Slave has again resounded in the ears of Parliament. Fifteen years trial of the promises of West India Planters to ameliorate the condition of their Slaves, has proved their deceptiveness, and we confidently hope, the opposers of slavery will persevere in their righteous endeavours till the land of the oppressor, shall be made vocal with the songs of freemen.

The improvement of the minds of the rising generation, continues to be a prominent object, and in addition to the

schools under the care of the Society, we have the satisfaction to state that our endeavours have been successful in getting one established by the Comptrollers of the Public Schools, and we confidently hope the number will soon be increased.

Our attention is frequently drawn to the condition of our large free coloured population, many of whom become vicious and criminal, through the evils of poverty and want of employment ; prevented by the prejudices of Society from aspiring to the honorable and lucrative employments of life, they are doomed to toil at the most laborious and least profitable ; yet even there prejudice and pride pursue them, Turnpikes, Canals, Coal-Mines, Brick-Making, Street Paving and Cleaning, which engage so many thousands give no employment to them ; let their situation at least engage our sympathy, if we can afford them no relief.

Our Acting Committee have been instrumental in several cases in preserving the liberty of persons claimed as Slaves, but we regret that a want of funds prevents our obtaining the liberation of several persons who have been kidnapped and carried into distant States.

Several cases of oppressive imprisonment of free persons of Colour in the District of Columbia, have come to our knowledge ; and we again solicit the attention of the Convention, to the existence of Slavery in that part of our country, which of all others should be free from so foul a stain. Relying with confidence on the blessing of the Supreme Disposer of events on our humble endeavours to diminish oppression, we trust the Convention will embrace every suitable opportunity to effect the great cause we have in view the final extinction of Slavery.

We have chosen William Rawle, Thomas Shipley, John Keating Jr. Isaac Barton, Joseph W. Rowland, Abraham L. Pennock, Roberts Vaux, William Baker, Solomon Temple and Philip Price Jr. Delegates to represent this Society in your body.

Signed by direction of the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of Slavery, for the relief of free Negroes unlawfully held in bondage and for improving the condition of the African Race, at a meeting held 10 Month, 2nd. 1823.

W. RAWLE, *President.*

OUR OFFICERS FOR THE PRESENT YEAR ARE,

<i>President,</i>	William Rawle, Esqr.
<i>Vice-Presidents,</i>	Jos. M. Paul, and Jonas Preston, M. D.
<i>Secretaries,</i>	James Mott, and Samuel Mason, Jr.

ACTING COMMITTEE.

Moses Lancaster,	William Baker,
Philip Price Jr.	Thomas Shipley,
Joseph Evans,	W. R. Smith.

COUNSELLORS.

John Sergeant, Esq.	David Paul Brown,
John Keatting, Jr.	William Rawle, Jr.
Joseph P. Norris, Jr.	James W. Murray.

Edward Needles,	<i>Chairman.</i> }	OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION.
Philip Price Jr.	<i>Secretary.</i> }	
Alexander Shaw,	<i>Chairman.</i> }	OF THE ELECTING COMMITTEE.
James Cox,	<i>Secretary.</i> }	



*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race.*

The Delaware Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, in Addressing the Convention at this time have but

little to offer that will be likely to interest that body. Some local circumstances, some passing events will however be mentioned, which may not be deemed altogether unworthy the notice of the Convention.

Since the last stated meeting of the Convention, this Society has been instrumental in promoting an application to the Legislature of Delaware, for the gradual Abolition of Slavery. But in this as in all former appeals to the justice and humanity of that Body the object contemplated was not obtained: Although the repeated failure of attempts of this kind is calculated to discourage the friends of the African Race, from pleading their cause before the Constituted Authorities of the State; yet it is believed that every favourable opportunity will still be embraced to endeavour to attain the object so long sought for, until the laws of the State shall no longer tolerate Slavery. It is a consoling reflection to the friends of humanity, that public opinion is gradually accomplishing this desirable object without Legislative aid; as is evidenced by the facts, that in the year 1790, the number of Slaves in this State, was upwards of 8000, in 1800 about 6000, in 1810, somewhere about 4000, and in 1820, it did not much exceed 2000.

Our Acting Committee have been instrumental in relieving a few coloured persons who were unlawfully held in bondage, or who had been illegally sold into Slavery, but our means have been too limited, to enable us to embrace every opportunity, which has presented, of affording relief.

The Delaware Society have taken into consideration the plan, for a general but gradual emancipation of the Slaves in the United States, adopted by the Convention at its last Session, and have approved it by a unanimous vote. And they recommend it to the further attention of the Convention, as the most eligible plan for abolishing Slavery, which has yet been proposed.



## LIST OF OFFICERS FOR THE PRESENT YEAR.

John Wales, *President*.—Edward Worrell and Eli Hilles, *Vice-Presidents*.—William Seal, *Treasurer*.—Samuel Hilles, *Secretary*.—William Chandler, Henry Witsil, Thomas Garrett, Jun. Henry J. Pepper, Dr. Gideon Jaques, *Acting Committee*.

Sign'd on behalf of the Society.

JOHN WALES, *President*.

Samuel Hilles, *Secretary*.

Wilmington, 10 Month, Srd. 1823.



*The Convention of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, to the "American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race," to be held at Philadelphia, on the first Tuesday of October, 1823.*

## FELLOW-LABOURERS,

Pursuant to the invitation contained in a communication from the Society, of the Acting Committee of your association, this Convention having assembled for the purpose of taking the proposition into consideration, feel it a duty incumbent on them to address you on the all important matter which has been the subject of our mutual deliberations.

This Convention, in addressing you, deem it unnecessary to depart on the numerous ills arising out of the practice of enslaving and degrading the unfortunate children of Africa in our country; inasmuch as it is supposed that persons chosen for their wisdom and philanthropy, and convened for the special purpose of obviating these things, are not ignorant of the calamities attending them. But a brief account of the aspect which the cause now wears in this section of country, and of the standing of our Society, together with such hints

and ideas as may seem necessarily connected with the general cause of benevolence and philanthropy, it is believed would not be unappropriate.

We mention it as a favorable omen, and as creditable to the inhabitants, that in East Tennessee, the Slaves, generally speaking, are treated with humanity and tenderness, compared with those of some other sections of the Union. To treat a Slave with barbarity is no longer looked upon with indifference, or considered an act which should be suffered to be done with impunity.

The Manumission Society of Tennessee, now enumerates twenty Branches, interspersed through several different counties of the State; most of which appear to be in a flourish-condition. The whole number of members belonging to it is supposed to exceed six hundred. When we take a retrospective view of its rise and progress, and contemplate the many difficulties it had to encounter from the deep-rooted prejudice enwoven from infancy in the minds of men, and then turn to its present state, and see what has already been done towards wearing off the wiry edge of opposition, and spreading the principles of the universal rights of man, we are induced to believe that we have good grounds for rejoicing in the prospect of its extensive future usefulness. And we would here mention, that we believe much benefit to the cause has been derived from the circulation of periodical works, and particularly from the "*Genius of Universal Emancipation*," for some Months past published in Greeneville, East Tennessee.

This Society has thought it a duty to address the several denominations of Christians, requesting their co-operation in forwarding the work in which we are engaged. It is believed that from the assistance of Religious Societies a powerful effect may be wrought, and a great and powerful good may emanate; inasmuch as the members of those societies are generally composed of the thinking, the influential, and the exemplary part of mankind.

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*Eighteenth Convention/817*

This Society has several times forwarded petitions to the Legislature of the State, praying that body to devise plans and pass Laws for ameliorating the condition of the unhappy Africans; and a petition has this Session been forwarded to that purport. At the last stated Session of that body, the subject was taken into consideration, and a committee was appointed thereon, which reported favorably. The fate of the petition of this year is not yet known; but it is expected it will at least be reported on favorably. Several memorials from the Society, have been forwarded to the Congress of the United States, requesting that body to take the subject into consideration; and that no State, hereafter be admitted into the Union, without a provision for the prohibition of Slavery; and likewise to devise a plan to prevent the forcible and inhuman separation of families, the violation of the matrimonial ordinances, &c. We have likewise suggested to that body, the propriety of putting our Declaration of Independence into operation, by declaring by Law that after a certain date there shall be no Slave born in this Union.

We pretend not in any thing to dictate; but we would respectfully suggest to your body the propriety of using your influence towards effecting a mutual co-operation or unity in interest and action; and of taking into consideration the different views of this Society here communicated, to that end.

We would further suggest to your body the consideration, whether it would not be proper, provided any thing be done towards colonizing the Blacks, to petition Congress to appropriate a certain parcel of land on the continent of America, to be devoted exclusively to the Colonizing of those who may after that time become free, yet we believe Education ought to be before colonization.

We have appointed *Benjamin Lundy*, a Delegate to represent this Society in your Convention, in whom we place full confidence;—and we presume that he will be able satisfac-

torily to transact any necessary business, or give any such further necessary information as may be required.

In conclusion, it is our desire that a friendly correspondence hereafter be kept up between the Convention and this Society. And may the bountiful smiles of Providence crown the great work in which we have engaged with success.

Done in Convention, the 19th. day of September, 1823,  
and signed by order of the same by.

**JAMES JONES, *President.***

ATTEST.

**TAOMAS DOAN, *Clerk.***

### ADDRESS.

OF THE CHESTER COUNTY SOCIETY FOR PREVENTING KID-  
KIDNAPPING &c.

*To the " American Convention for promoting the abolition of  
Slavery, and improving the condition of the African  
Race.*

The Chester County Society for preventing Kidnapping &c. in addressing the Convention at this time, have but little to communicate respecting their labours in the cause of Abolition. In pursuance of the object of our association, we continue to extend care, that none are carried into Slavery from our district, but such as prove to be legal Slaves; and where there is reason to believe, that attempts have been made, to kidnap any of the unhappy children of Africa, to bring the offenders to condign punishment.

The question, "what ought to be done to eradicate the evil of Slavery from our land," is one, deeply interesting to the present, and future generations. The measures that may be adopted, for the attainment of this object, by those patriots, and friends of humanity, who have the permanent interest of their Country at heart, may have material influence in determining the future course of events, connected with the duration and termination of Slavery. Hence it is all

important, that we should have correct views of the subject and understand clearly the effects of every measure we may adopt or recommend; and likewise that there should be a union of sentiment and action, among abolitionists throughout our country. As a means of promoting the latter, it appears expedient, that associations represented in the Convention, should express their views on the leading subjects likely to employ its deliberations. And having no doubt but the proposition submitted to the last convention, for mitigating the evils of Slavery, and Changing its form, so as gradually to initiate the Slaves into habits suited to a state of freedom, will, from its importance claim a large share of the attention of the present; we shall make an exposition of our views respecting it, a prominent object in this address. In those districts where Slaves are most numerous, the policy of immediate emancipation is questionable, and the opinions of the people generally, forbid it altogether: Here, the plan proposed, offers a safe and easy way of giving powerful aid to the cause of Abolition: If in those States where slavery abounds most extensively, a few individuals bearing influence in their respective neighbourhoods, were to adopt the plan, the example would probably soon be followed by others, as it would be found to promote the interest, as well as the comfort and safety of the master; the most powerful motive to action would be enlisted in the cause of liberty, and a great, and salutary effect could hardly fail to be produced.— The general adoption of this plan, would also prove the most effective means of removing the difficulties, that now present, in the way of emancipation; for the Slaves would be led to acquire the habits of freemen, and consequently would be more likely when restored to liberty, to make useful members of Society; It would also, operate as a check to the increase of their numbers, and in a way that would have no tendency, to create in them, unpleasant feeling toward their masters; for, the quantity of the necessaries of life which each Slave could command, would depend, as in a state of freedom, upon his exertions, and the advantages of his situation; they would be led to calculate on the probability of want, and feel the difficulties of providing for a family.

We are aware, that the general adoption of the system we are recommending, would be likely to prolong the existence of Slavery, beyond the period when it would naturally terminate, if no change in its character were effected : but this natural termination (as it may be called) is one which we cannot contemplate with indifference. Slavery, as it now exists in the Southern States, is a disorder in the body politic, that carries with it, the seeds of its own destruction ; it is like a disease in the human body, which must terminate in some way ; and the duty of the Politician in the one case, is similar to that of the Physician, in the other, to co-operate with the laws of nature, so as to lead the disease to that termination most consistent, with the safety, and future welfare of the patient. Although we believe the plan referred to is better calculated to do justice to the Slaves, than immediate emancipation, and offers perhaps the only alternative that exists, of saving a large portion of our Southern States, from the horrors of a servile war, we are not prepared to recommend it under *all* circumstances : Where the proportion of Slaves is not very great, and where from an increasing sense of justice on the part of the masters or from their growing poverty, Slavery is rapidly declining ; it would be right to accelerate the progress of emancipation by all justifiable means ; in effecting which it should always be remembered, that a Slave, liberated by the voluntary act of his master, will leave him with feelings very different from the one who is released from bondage, by the operation of law ; neither should it be forgotten, that before an abolition law be enacted in any State, it should be understood, that the sentiments of the people were favorable thereto, and that they would support it—for such a statute once in operation, and soon afterwards rescinded, might endanger the safety of the White Population. As to particularizing the districts, where absolute and immediate emancipation would be expedient, we entertain a belief, (with due regard to the opinions of others) that this policy is applicable to the States of Delaware and Maryland, and to the District of Columbia, and we trust that by proper

exertions, slavery may terminate therein, at no very distant period. This change in the condition of the coloured population, is the most efficient means, of restraining the farther increase of their relative power, that is consistent with humanity and justice; for, when free, they will form the lowest grade of Society, on whom the pressure that checks the increase of population falls the heaviest, and who consequently increase more slowly than superior Classes; so that their relative numbers will be continually diminishing, and eventually they will cease to exist within our borders.

We have appointed Lea Pusey, and Abraham Marshall Jr. to represent this Society in the Convention.

Our Officers for the year commencing this day are,

<i>President,</i>	Lea Pusey.
<i>Vice-President,</i>	Ezra Michener, M. D.
<i>Secretary,</i>	Benjamin J. Pennock, M. D.
<i>Treasurer,</i>	William Swayne.

*Acting Committee.*

Abraham Marshall Jr.	Benjamin Price,
Mahlon Preston,	William Jackson Jun.
Bond Valentine,	George Gawthrop.

Signed by order of the Society.

LEA PUSEY, *President.*

JOHN CHANDLER Jun. *Secretary.*

*London Grove, 10 Month, 4th. 1823.*



A Committee of Arrangement was then appointed, to bring before the Convention such subjects as might demand its more immediate attention at its present Session.

The following persons were appointed that Committee.

Evan Lewis,  
Arnold Buffom,  
John Keating Jun.

Ira Clizbe,  
Abraham Marshall Jun.  
Benjamin Lundy.

Jos. W. Rowland and Thomas Shipley, were appointed to examine and settle the Treasurers accounts.

The Report of the Acting Committee was read and accepted

The Acting Committee appointed by the late Convention respectfully report: That in conformity with the instructions of the Convention, they forwarded to Congress, the memorial on the subject of Slavery in Florida, which was read in that body, but it does not appear to have had the effect desired.

They prepared an Address to the people of the United States, on the subject of Slavery, and directed it to be circulated.

To the several Societies favourable to the rights of Coloured persons, they gave due notice of the adjournment of the late Convention and of the time of holding the next,

They prepared and circulated a letter to individuals in States where Slavery is permitted, as a commencement of a correspondence on the subject of its Abolition. Copies of this letter and of the Address to the people of the United States are herewith presented to the Convention.

They have not succeeded in procuring the desired information with regard to the existing Laws of the several States, which relate to the natural and social rights of free persons of Colour.

They procured the printing of 750 copies of the minutes of the late Convention, and distributed them among the several Abolition and Manumission Societies, with which they were acquainted.



They also, on learning that the New-York Society, were about to publish a pamphlet on the comparative profitable-ness of free and slave labour, addressed by Adam Hodgdon, to J. B. Say, ordered 200 copies of the same, which are subject to the disposal of the Convention.

THOMAS EARLE, *Secretary*.

The Convention adjourned to meet to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

*Wednesday, 8th. October, 10 o'clock A. M.*

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment *Present*.

*Rhode-Island*.—Otis Ammidon, Arnold Buffum.

*New-York*.—Joshua Underhill, Ira Clizbe, Robert F. Mott,\* Dr. John Stearns.\*

*Pennsylvania*.—William Rawle, Esq. William Baker, Jos. W. Rowland, Philip Price Jr. Abraham L. Pennock, Thomas Shipley, Solomon Temple.

*Delaware*.—Evan Lewis, John Wales, Jos. Bringhurst, Benjamin Ferris.

*Chester County, Pa.*—Lea Pusey, Abraham Marshall.

*Tennessee*.—Benjamin Lundy.

The minutes of last meeting were read and Approved.

The Committee of Arrangement produced the following Report, which was Approved.

The Committee of Arrangement Report; that they have examined the addresses from the different Abolition and Manumission Societies, represented in this Convention, and noted the specific subjects recommended in them to its consideration.

There is much useful and important information contained in the addresses, and also much to cheer and console the

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\* Dr. John Stearns and Robert F. Mott, Delegates from the New-York Society, appeared and took their seats.

friends of humanity and the rights of man: It appears however to your Committee, that the subjects upon which the Convention, is required to act are embraced in the following Resolutions, which are respectfully submitted to the consideration of the Convention.

*1st.*—*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to draft a Memorial to Congress, and also a Circular Address to the different State Legislatures, requesting their co-operation in procuring the Abolition of Slavery in the district of Columbia.

*2nd.*—That the plan for a general emancipation of Slaves, adopted at the last Session be considered by Convention, in Committee of the whole.

*3rd.*—That a Committee be appointed to obtain information in relation to the acquiescence of the people of South Carolina, in the opinion of Judge Johnson referred to in the address from New-York and Pennsylvania, and report thereon to this Convention.

*4th.*—That a Committee be appointed to prepare a memorial to Congress, on the subject of transporting Slaves from one State or Territory to another.

The Committee would also respectfully suggest to the consideration of the Convention, to endeavour to obtain some modification of the Laws of the United States, and of the respective States, in relation to the competency of Slaves, to testify in Courts of Justice.

*5th.*—That a Committee be also, raised to prepare an address to the different Religious Societies in the United States, to endeavour to enlist them in aid of the great cause of Abolition in general; and that said address, particularly recommend especial attention to the following important subjects, to wit, increased regard for the solemnity of the Marriage contract among Slaves. To counteract and discour-

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age, the degrading and immoral practice of promiscuous intercourse between the white and coloured population, where such intercourse exists, to promote as much as possible the Mannmission of Slaves, in the different States; and the Education of people of Colour.

The subject of Colonization of the Blacks, on a part of the Territory of the United States, is recommended in the Address from the Society in Tennessee; but as the Convention at its former Sessions, has decided upon that question in general, it is not thought necessary by the Committee that any order should now be taken upon it.

Signed on behalf of the Committee.

EVAN LEWIS, *Chairman.*

AB. MARSHALL Jr. *Secretary.*

*Philadelphia, 10 Month, 8th. 1823.*

The Committee appointed to settle the Treasurers Accounts. Reported they had examined his account and compared it with his Vouchers an Abstract, of which they presented by which it appears there is a ballance due the Convention, in his hands, of ninety-six Dollars and seventy-nine Cents.

**Dr. American Convention &c. in Account with J. Preston, Treasurer. Cr.**

1822, 2nd. Mo. 25th.	To Atkinson and Alexander, Or- der No. 1.	\$58	80	1822, 1st. Mo. 1st.	By ballance of account settled 10, Mo. 2nd. 1821.	\$47	84½
7th. Mo. 13th.	To B. & T. Kite, No. 2.	30	25		By Cash of Henry Troth, Treasurer of Pennsylvania, Abolition Society, their ap- propriation for 1813.	60	
12th. Mo. 10th.	To Atkinson and Alexander, No. 3.	2		7th. Mo. 29th.	By Cash of Philadelphia Bank, 1st. dividend due on 8 Shares of Stock.	20	
	Ballance.	96	79½	1823, 9th. Mo. 25th.	By do. do. 3 dividends on 8 Shares of Stock at 20 Dollars each.	60	
	Besides the above ballance there is due to the American Conven- tion, two warrants on the Treasur- er of Pennsylvania Abolition So- ciety, one dated 9th. Mo. 9th. 1819, for	\$187	84½		Ballance.	\$187	84½
	The other dated 10 Mo. 1st. 1821, for	60			Examined and Approved.	96	84½
	Also Certificates for 8 Shares of Stock in the Bank of Philadelphia.	40					

**J. Preston.**

**Thomas Shipley,  
Joseph W. Rowland.  
Committee.**

10th. Month 8th. 1823.

The Report of the Committee of Arrangements was then taken up and considered by paragraphs.

The first Resolution recommended by the Committee, was ordered to lie on the table.

The second Resolution recommended by the Committee was laid on the table.

The third Resolution recommended by the Committee was referred to Dr. J. Stearns, Abraham L. Pennock and Benjamin Ferris.

The fourth Resolution recommended by the Committee was ordered to lie on the table.

The fifth subject recommended by the Committee was referred to Evan Lewis, Ira Clizbe, Abraham Marshall, Jr. J. Underhill and Roberts Vaux.

The last subject contained in the Report of the Committee of Arrangements wherein it is recommended to take no definite measures upon the subject of Colonization, was adopted.

A motion was made and carried that an Acting Committee, be forthwith appointed.

The following persons were appointed said Committee.

Otis Ammidon, R. F. Mott, T. Shipley, Isaac Barton, J. W. Rowland, J. Keating, A. L. Pennock, S. Temple, P. Price, Lea Pusey, Joseph Bringham, Benjamin Lundy.

The following Report, of the Committee appointed by the last Convention, to obtain information relative to the moral, and political, conditon of the Coloured inhabitants of Hayti, and other foreign Countries &c. was read.

*The Committee to whom was referred, by the last Convention, the obtaining of information relative to the condition of the Island of Hayti. respectfully Report :*

That from the representations of those who have resided in the Island, and from the public documents printed there, it appears that the Haytians, have made a progress in Civilization and intellectual improvement, nearly if not altogether unparalleled in the history of nations.

Public free Schools are established to a greater extent, in proportion to the wants of the population, than is known in European Countries ; and the pupils exhibit a very gratifying proficiency in their studies.

The Government is efficient, and apparently stable. It is Republican in its form ; the Laws being passed by a Legislative body, chosen by the people, yet it is said that the controul of the President is predominant, the Military force being at his disposal. He does not appear, however, to abuse his authority ; and it is evident that a continuance of the system of education and of the Republican form of Government, will, at no distant period, place the power in reality in the hands of the people and their representatives.— Until knowledge be generally diffused, the chief influence and authority must necessarily be exercised by a few enterprising and extraordinary characters, who have outstripped the mass in the race of improvement.

The great body of men in all Countries, are hired labourers who subsist on their wages ; and the quantity of the means of subsistence given them for their services, is perhaps the best criterion which can be obtained of the degree of happiness that they enjoy, or of positive oppression that they suffer. Trying the condition of the Haytians by this test, it would appear decidedly better than that of the people of any European nation, and the Citizens of the United States would be able to boast of no striking pre-eminence. The ways of labourers in the Haytian Sea-Ports is one dollar per. day ; and the price of provisions, on the average, is nearly the same as in our own Ports. The wants of the people in Clothing, Shelter, and furniture, are far less than those of the inhabitants of our Zone ; so that on the whole the means of

comfortable subsistence are probably as abundantly possessed by the labouring Haytians, as by the labourers of any country on earth. This abundance is a positive proof of the mildness of the Government; a proof that it does not grind the people to dust by the taxing and monopolizing hand of oppression.

So much propriety of style, profoundty of thought, and correctness of sentiment have been exhibited in the official documents, and in the public Journals of Hayti, that many people in this Country have supposed, that these productions must have been the work of foreigners, and not of the persons who profess the authorship; for they could not credit it as a fact that native Coloured Haytians, had attained that intellectual perfection which these documents would indicate. In answer to doubts of this kind, expressed by the Editor of the National Gazette of this City, the Editor of a most respectable newspaper in Boston states, that a gentleman of that place who has resided for some time in Hayti, and whose statements are entitled to implicit confidence, declares, that from his own knowledge, it is an unquestionable fact, that the publications alluded to are really the work of those to whom the authorship is attributed.

A number of Citizens of Boston, have of late taken a strong interest in Haytian affairs, and have written zealously in favour of a recognition, by the United States, of Haytian Independence. One of these, who had given a very favourable picture of the condition, institutions, and prospects of the Island, in answer to some insinuations of selfish motives, avers that he has no personal interest in the subject: That he is influenced solely by considerations of reasonableness and equity, and of the general interests of the United States.

It is gratifying to find the progress of Haytians, such as every day diminishes the number of their contemners and enemies, and adds to the number of those who are convinced of the moral and intellectual capabilities of the Blacks.

Hayti is a Country of deep interest to the **Philosopher** and **Statesman**, and especially so to the friends of **African** rights. It is to be hoped that it may continue a land which may be fitly looked to as an example for refuting prejudices against the **Blacks**, and as a suitable place of refuge for those **Coloured** persons who may be unwilling to endure the degradation they are doomed to suffer in other Countries.

The late union of the whole Island under one Government is calculated to allay the apprehensions of internal commotion, which arose from the possession of a part of the Country by the **Spaniards**; and to cause it to be considered as a more suitable place for emigration than formerly.

The policy of the Government toward emigrants is liberal; and some time since it went so far as to pay the passage money of all who would come from **Europe** or **America** to settle; but finding that under this provision worthless characters were introduced, it discontinued the practice.

On behalf of the Committee.

**THOMAS EARLE.**

On motion *Resolved*, That the disposition of the 200 Copies of Adam Hodgsons letter to **J. B. Say**, mentioned in the Report of the last Acting Committee, be referred to the present Acting Committee.

The Convention adjourned till 4 o'clock this afternoon.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment *Present* :

FROM *Providence R. I.*—**A. Buffum** **Otis Ammidon**.

Do. *New-York*.—**J. Underhill**, **Dr. J. Stearns**, **J. Clizbe**, **R. F. Mott**.

Do. *Pennsylvania*.—**Roberts Vaux**, **Wm. Baker**, **J. Keating Jun.** **Joseph W. Rowland**, **S. Temple**, **Isaac Barton**, **Philip Price Jun.** **A. L. Pennock**, **Thomas Shipley**.



**Do. Delaware.**—Evan Lewis, John Wales, Jos. Bringhurst Benj. Ferris.

**Do. Chester County, Pa.**—Lea Pusey, Abraham Marshall.

**Do. Tennessee.**—Benjamin Lundy.

On motion *Resolved*, That it is inexpedient for this Convention to address at present any memorial to Congress on the subject of Emancipation of Slaves in the United States, or in the District of Columbia.

A motion was made and carried that the Acting Committee Report, on the opening of the Convention at its next regular meeting the unfinished business of any preceding Convention.

On motion *Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to report to the Convention the unfinished business, which may claim its attention, the following persons were appointed the Committee.

Thomas Shipley, John Wales, R. F. Mott.

Adjournment to 4, P. M.

Convention met pursuant to adjournment *Present*:

**FROM Rhode-Island.**—Otis Ammidon, Arnold Buffum.

**New-York.**—Joshua Underhill, Ira Clizbe, Dr. John Stearns, Robert F. Mott.

**Pennsylvania.**—Wm. Rawle, Esq. Wm. Baker, Isaac Barton, Jos. W. Rowland, Philip Price Jun. Abraham Pennock, Thomas Shipley.

**Delaware.**—Evan Lewis, John Wales, Jos. Bringhurst, Benjamin Ferris.

**Chester County, Pa.**—Lea Pusey, Abm. Marshall.

**Tennessee.**—Benjamin Lundy.

The minutes of the forenoon session were read and approved.

The minutes of the last acting committee were then read and approved.

Several printed Reports of the case of the *Vigilant*, a French ship employed in the slave trade—A Memorial from the Society of Friends on the subject of the Abolition of Slavery, to the Parliament of Great Britain, and a Brief View of the Nature and Effects of Negro Slavery, as it exists in the colonies of Great Britain, by the London Society for mitigating and gradually abolishing slavery in the British dominions, were laid before the Convention, by Roberts Vaux, Esq. and the consideration of them referred to A. L. Pennock, Joseph Brighurst, and Lea Pusey.

A motion was made and carried, That the acting committee be instructed to correspond with humane and intelligent individuals and societies, upon the subject of Slavery, with a view to its abolition.

To take into consideration the expediency of establishing a periodical paper, to be under the direction of the Convention, and to be devoted to the cause of emancipation. The following persons were appointed a Committee:

Benjamin Lundy,	John Wales, Esq.
Arnold Bullum,	Robert F. Mott,
John Keating, Jun. Esq.	Lea Pusey.

The Committee upon unfinished business, made the following Report:

The Committee to whom was referred the subject of the unfinished business of the preceding Convention, report—That the following are the only resolutions and subjects before the last Convention which are not disposed of, and remain for further consideration, viz—a resolution for the appointment of a Committee to collect and digest

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the laws respecting slaves and people of colour ; and a resolution instructing the acting committee to obtain the fullest possible information respecting the laws, ordinances, and regulations affecting the natural and social rights of free persons of colour in the several states and territories, and in the district of Columbia.

They respectfully recommend, that the last resolution be recommended to the attention of the acting committee.

J. WALES,  
T. SHIPLEY,

On motion, *Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to make a digest of the laws of the United States, and of the several states and territories, on the subject of slavery.

The following persons were appointed that Committee :

Wm. Rawle, Ira Clizbe, John Keating, Jun. John Wales, Abraham, Marshall, Jun.

Adjourned till nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

*October (10th mo.) 9th—9, A. M.*

Convention met pursuant to adjournment.—Present :

*Rhode Island*.—Arnold Buffum.

*New-York*.—Joshua Underhill, Ira Clizbe, Robert F. Mott, Dr. John Stearns.

*Pennsylvania*.—W. Rawle, Esq. W. Baker, Isaac Barton, J. W. Rowland, Philip Price, Jun. Abm. L. Pennock, Roberts Vaux, Thomas Shipley, Solomon Temple, John Keating, Jun. Esq.

*Delaware*.—Evan Lewis, John Wales, Benjamin Ferris.

*Chester County, Pa.*—Lea Pusey, Abm. Marshall, Jun.

*Tennessee*.—Benjamin Lundy.

A motion was made and carried, That a Committee be appointed to draft an Address to the several Manumission Societies in the United States, on the subject of the Aboli-

tion of Slavery, and on the rights and protection of people of colour.

The following persons were appointed :

Wm. Rawle, Abraham L. Pennock, Ira Clizbe, John Wales, Benjamin Ferris.

The Committee appointed to draft an Address to the various Religious Societies in the United States, requested further time to prepare it, which was granted; and a motion was made and carried, that the said address be presented to the President of this Convention and to the acting committee, for their approbation; and that the President give the address his signature, after the approbation aforesaid is obtained.

Some additional documents were then laid before the Committee by Roberts Vaux, Esq. which were referred to the Committee appointed to examine those presented by the same gentleman yesterday; and the said Committee were authorised to report thereon.

A letter from H. Ketchum, Esq. of New-York, was received and laid before the Convention by the President, together with accompanying documents, which were referred to the Committee appointed to examine and report upon similar documents laid before this Convention, yesterday and this morning, by Roberts Vaux, Esq.

A motion was made and carried, That a committee be appointed to memorialize such of the Legislatures of the respective States, as the committee to be appointed, together with the acting committee, may deem proper, requesting their co-operation in procuring the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

The following persons were appointed said Committee:

Joseph W. Rowland,     Robert F. Mott,  
William Baker.

The Committee appointed to ascertain the sentiments of the people of South Carolina on the subject of the opinion of Judge Johnson, submitted the following Report, which was ordered to lie on the table.

The Committee appointed to ascertain whether the people of South Carolina have attempted to enforce the law of that state, entitled, "An Act for the better regulation of Free Negroes and Persons of Colour, and for other purposes." Passed in December, 1822, in opposition to the opinion of Judge Johnson, on the unconstitutionality of that law,

### **REPORT:**

That your Committee have received information, that since the passage of that law, a Society, composed of the most influential men in that state, has been organized for the express purpose of carrying it into effect, and that two persons of colour have actually been arrested;—one of them imprisoned since the said opinion was given.

The Citizens of other states have also been addressed by an Editor of one of the Charleston papers, expressing the determination of the people of that state to enforce the execution of the law.

Your Committee have, therefore, no doubt, that the *Law* referred to will be enforced, unless controlled by higher authority; which is respectfully submitted.

Signed,     **JOHN STEARNS, Chairman.**

A motion was made and carried, That the acting committee be instructed to investigate the state of slavery in the District of Columbia, and, if they judge expedient, to draft a memorial to Congress, or prepare a bill to be introduced into that body, on the subject of Slavery, in the said District, to be submitted to this Convention at its next session

The following **REPORT** was read and adopted :

The Committee to whom were referred the pamphlets and papers laid on the table by Roberts Vaux, and the communication and document received from Hiram Ketchum, Esq.

**REPORT:**

That having having examined the same, they are of opinion that they contain important information of the views and benevolent exertions of our fellow labourers in the cause of emancipation in England; and the Committee suggest, that each Society represented in the Convention, be furnished with one copy of the "Case of the Vigilante," and that the remaining copy, with the other papers, (excepting the document from Hiram Ketchum, Esq. which is to be returned to him) be deposited with the acting committee.

On behalf of the Committee,

**ABM. L. PENNOCK**, Chairman.

Adjourned till three o'clock in the afternoon.



The Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

**Present :**

*Rhode-Island.*—Arnold Buffum, Otis Ammidou.

*New-York.*—Joshua Underhill, Ira Clizbe, Robert F. Mott.

*Pennsylvania.*—Wm. Rawle, Esq. Wm. Baker, Isaac Barton, Jos. W. Rowland, Philip Price Jun. Abraham Pennock, John Keating, Jun. Roberts Vaux, Thos. Shipley, Solomon Temple.

*Delaware.*—Evan Lewis, John Wales, Benjamin Ferris.

*Chester County,* a.—Lea Pusey, Abm. Marshall.

*Tennessee.*—Benjamin Lundy.

The Committee appointed to examine into the expediency of establishing a periodical paper, &c. made the following **REPORT**, which was adopted.

The Committee appointed by the Convention "to take into consideration the expediency of establishing a periodical paper, to be under the direction of the Committee," &c.

**REPORT:**

That taking into view the facts, that the Convention is dependent for its funds upon the contributions of the several **Abolition Societies**, and that the long intervals between the different sessions of the Convention, would prevent it from exercising a due superintendence of the press in relation to the important subject of Slavery. Your Committee are of opinion, that it is not expedient for the Convention to take upon itself the publication of any periodical work.

**B. LUNDY,**

On behalf of the Committee.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the Treasurer be directed to invest such monies of the Convention as may be in his hands, and not subject to any order of the Convention, in such public stock as he may deem best for the interests of this Institution.

A motion was made and carried, That the Address from the London Anti-Slavery Society, and the "Brief View of the nature and effects of Negro Slavery, as it exists in the colonies of Great Britain," be printed as an Appendix to the Minutes of this Convention.

On motion, *Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to consider if any, and what measures can be taken by the Convention, to promote the welfare of the free People of Colour in the United States.

The following persons were appointed said Committee :

Joshua Underhill. Otis Ammidon,  
Abraham Marshall, Jr.

Convention adjourned to meet at 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Convention met, and adjourned to 3 o'clock, P. M.

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October 10th, 1823.

Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

*Present:*

*Rhode Island*—Otis Ammidon, Arnold Buffum.

*Do. New-York*.—Joshua Underhill, Ira Clizbe, Robt. F. Mott.

*Pennsylvania*—W. Rawle, Esq. Wm. Baker, Isaac Barton, J. W. Rowland, Philip Price, Jun. A. L. Pennock, Roberts Vaux, Thomas Shipley, Solomon Temple, John Keating Jun.

*Delaware*—Evan Lewis, Jos. Bringhurst, Benj. Ferris.

*Chester County, Pa.*—Lea Pusey, Abraham Marshall, Jr.

*Tennessee*.—Benjamin Lundy.

The following Resolution was unanimously adopted, and the Secretary directed to furnish Evan Lewis with a copy thereof:

*Whereas*, This Convention for several years past, have deemed it important to obtain information with respect to the social condition of the people of Hayti; and whereas; our Vice-president, Evan Lewis, has informed us of his intention to visit that Island.

*Therefore Resolved*, That the said Evan Lewis be, and is hereby, respectfully requested to obtain all the information in his power on the above interesting subject, and report the same to the Convention at a future session.

The Committee appointed to prepare an Address to the several Manumission Societies in the United States, reported an Essay, which was considered and adopted as follows:

*To the Abolition and Manumission Societies of the United States of America.*

The American Convention at the close of its present ses-



ion, believe it their duty again to address you on the interesting subjects which have at this time engaged our attention.

Although we have nothing to present to you that should flatter us with hopes of great and sudden success in the cause of African Emancipation, yet it is consoling to perceive by accounts received from Europe, South America, and various parts of our own country, that the Friends of Freedom are on the alert, and using the most powerful means to ensure its final triumph. Wilberforce, Clarkson, and other veterans in the African cause, have again appeared in the field. New societies are formed and new advocates are raised up, who with every means of information, and all the advantages of education, talents and pecuniary resources, are nobly exerting themselves, not only to *mitigate* the state of slavery wherein it exists, but to obtain its *complete abolition*.

Among the various measures which have been discussed, having for their object the emancipation of the African race in our own country, and their final elevation to the privileges and advantages of their white brethren, there is none that appears more important in its nature, or more likely to produce this desirable result, than teaching them the mechanic arts and other branches of business; which, when pursued with prudence and industry, insure competence and wealth. In every age of the world, menial servitude has been a state of ignominy, the lot of ignorance or degradation. And while the coloured population of our country aspire to a station no higher than servants, they will, in spite of every human effort to prevent it, be considered as an inferior order.

In all countries and under every kind of government, wealth and virtue give distinction and insure respect; and under our happy Constitution, which neither confers empty titles, nor entails hereditary honors, wealth moral virtue, stand pre-eminent among the causes that raise us to respect and distinction. If, therefore, the descendants of Africa are

over to attain to a perfect equality of rights and privileges—if they are ever to see the annihilation of degrading distinctions, they must be put into a capacity to acquire and enjoy the advantages of wealth. For this purpose it is necessary they should participate in the more lucrative employments of civil life.

It must be obvious to every friend of African Emancipation, that the present condition of many of those among this poor and despised people who have obtained their liberty, affords to their enemies the strongest arguments against their freedom. Wretchedness arising from poverty, ignorance and vice, is triumphantly pointed at as an irrefutable argument for the continuance of Slavery!

We would, therefore, at this time, particularly and earnestly recommend to the renewed attention of the different Abolition and Manumission Societies, the important subject of giving the Children of coloured people *literary* instruction, and placing them as apprentices to *useful trades*. The former is essential to a developement of their intellectual faculties—the latter to advance their pecuniary interests; and both are necessary to enable them to attain their just rank in civil society. There can be little doubt that a single instance of a wealthy, intelligent and virtuous coloured man in any neighbourhood, would have a more powerful influence to obliterate idle prejudices, than volumes of abstract reasoning.

We fear that the practice of kidnapping free people of colour, is still continued in our country. To this subject we would respectfully call your constant attention.

As the minutes of this Convention will give you a full view of the subjects which have engaged our attention, we shall not further enlarge on these subjects.

We conclude with exhorting all those who are engaged with us in this important cause, to persevere, with the hope

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and confidence that although our progress may be apparently slow and our prospects sometimes discouraging, yet, conformably to the dispensations of a gracious Providence, truth and justice ultimately must prevail.

*Signed on behalf, and by order of the Convention.*

W. RAWLE, President.

IRA CLIZBE,  
THOMAS SHIPLEY, } Secretaries.

*October 10th, Afternoon, 1823.*

The following REPORT was read and adopted :

The Committee appointed to consider if any, and what measures can be taken by the Convention to promote the welfare of the free people of colour, beg leave to REPORT, That they have attended to their appointment during the short period which has elapsed since it was made, and respectfully suggest to the Convention, as their opinion, that the object of their appointment is, for the present, sufficiently embraced by the order which the Convention have taken upon the subject generally.

On behalf of the Committee,

J. UNDERHILL.

*Whereas*, a periodical paper has been established, and for some time published by Benjamin Lundy, of Greenville, E. Tennessee, entitled the "Genius of Universal Emancipation;" a paper which, as its title indicates, appears to be devoted to the views that are pursued by this Convention. Therefore, to co-operate in so benevolent an establishment, *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the members of societies constituting this Convention, to promote the several subscriptions to said paper—and that the acting committee be directed to subscribe for ten copies thereof.

A motion was made and carried, that the Convention go

into committee of the whole, on the subject of general emancipation.

Lea Pusey was called to the Chair, and the Committee of the whole reported the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That it is not expedient at present to consider the subject.

*Resolved*, That the plan of a general emancipation be recommended to the acting committee to report thereon at the next session,—which report was adopted by the committee.

A motion was made and carried, that the subjects of the transportation of slaves from one state to another, and the reception of the testimony of slaves in courts of justice, be referred to a special committee to report to the next Convention.

The following persons were appointed said committee:

Wm. Rawle,	Roberts Vaux,
J. Keating, Jun.	Isaac Barton,
Jos. W. Rowland.	

The following Resolution was read and adopted:

*Resolved*, That the Acting Committee cause to be printed and distributed, the usual number of the proceedings of this Convention, and likewise have the Address to the Abolition and Manumission Societies published in the news-papers.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to the Select Council of this City, for the use of their Council Chamber.

A communication was received from the Presiding Manumission Society, appointing the Rev. Dr. Rodgers a member of this Convention, who appeared and took his seat therein.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be returned to the President, William Rawle, Esq. for the impartial and dignified manner with which he has presided over the meetings of this Convention.

The Minutes were then read and approved, and the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

**A BRIEF VIEW**  
OF THE  
NATURE AND EFFECTS  
OF  
**NEGRO SLAVERY,**  
AS IT EXISTS IN THE  
COLONIES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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THE Committee of the London Society for mitigating and gradually abolishing the state of Slavery throughout the British Dominions, understanding that a strong and very general desire prevails, in all parts of the country, to be furnished with a compendious view of the nature and effects of Negro Slavery, as it exists in the Colonies of Great Britain, have thought it their duty to draw up and circulate the following Summary of information on that subject.

IN the Colonies of Great Britain there are at this moment upwards of 800,000 human beings in a state of degrading personal slavery.

These unhappy persons, whether young or old, male or female, are the absolute property of their master, who may sell or transfer them at his pleasure, and who may also regulate according to his discretion (within certain limits) the measure of their labour, their food, and their punishment.

Many of the slaves are (and all may be) branded, by means of a hot iron, on the shoulder or other conspicuous part of the body, with the initials of their master's name, and thus bear about them, in indelible characters, the proof of their debased and servile state.

The Slaves, whether male or female, are driven to hard

labour by the impulse of the cart-whip, for the sole benefit of their owners, from whom they receive no wages; and this labour is continued, (with certain intermissions for breakfast and dinner,) from morning to night, throughout the year.

In the season of crop, which lasts for four or five months of the year, their labour is protracted not only throughout the day, as at other times, but during either half the night, or the whole of every alternate night.

Besides being generally made to work under the lash, without wages, the Slaves are further obliged to labour for their own maintenance on that day which ought to be devoted to repose and religious instruction. And as that day is also their only market-day, it follows, that "Sunday shines no Sabbath-day to them," but is of necessity a day of worldly occupation, and much bodily exertion.

The colonial laws arm the master, or any one to whom he may delegate his authority, with a power to punish his slaves to a certain extent, without the intervention of the magistrate, and without any responsibility for the use of this tremendous discretion; and to that extent he may punish them for any offence, or for no offence. These discretionary punishments are usually inflicted on the naked body with the cart whip, an instrument of dreadful severity, which cruelly lacerates the flesh of the sufferer. Even the unhappy females are equally liable with the men to have their persons thus shamelessly exposed and barbarously tortured at the caprice of the master or overseer.

The Slaves being regarded in the eye of the law as mere chattels, they are liable to be seized in execution for their master's debts, and, without any regard to the family ties which may be broken by this oppressive and merciless process, to be sold by auction to the highest bidder, who may remove them to a distant part of the same colony, or even exile them to another colony.

Marriage, that blessing of civilized and even of savage life, is protected in the case of the slaves by no legal sanction. It cannot be said to exist among them. Those, therefore, who live together as man and wife, are liable to be separated by the caprice of their master, or by sale for the satisfaction of his creditors.

The Slaves in general have little or no access to the means of Christian instruction.

The effect of the want of such instruction, as well as of the absence of any marriage tie, is, that the most untrained licentiousness, (exhibited in a degrading, disgusting, and depopulating promiscuous intercourse,) prevails almost universally among the Slaves; and is encouraged, no less universally, by the debaucheries of their superiors the Whites.

The evidence of Slaves is not admitted by the Colonial Courts, in any civil or criminal case affecting a person of free condition. If a White man, therefore, perpetrates the most atrocious acts of barbarity, in the presence of Slaves only, the injured party is left without any means of legal redress.

In none of the Colonies of Great Britain, have those legal facilities been afforded to the Slave, to purchase his own freedom, which have produced such extensively beneficial effects in the colonial possessions of Spain and Portugal, where the Slaves have been manumitted in large numbers, not only without injury, but with benefit to the master, and with decided advantage to the public peace and safety. On the contrary, in many of our colonies, even the voluntary manumission of Slaves by their masters is obstructed, and in some rendered nearly impossible, by large fines.

It is an universal principle of Colonial Law, that all Black or Coloured persons are presumed and taken to be Slaves, unless they can legally prove the contrary. The liberty, therefore, even of free persons is thus often greatly

endangered, and sometimes lost. They are liable to be apprehended as runaway Slaves; and they are further liable, as such, to be sold into endless bondage, if they fail to do that which, though free, nay, though born perhaps in Great Britain itself, they may be unable to do,—namely, to establish the fact of their freedom by such evidence as the colonial laws require.

Let it be remembered also, that many thousand infants are annually born within the British dominions to no inheritance but that of the hapless, hopeless, servitude which has been described; and the general oppressiveness of which might be inferred from this striking and most opprobrious fact alone, that while in the United States of America the Slaves increase rapidly, there is, even now, in the British Colonies, no increase, but on the contrary, a diminution of their numbers.

Such are some of the more prominent features of Negro Slavery, as it exists in the Colonies of Great Britain. Revolting as they are, they form only a part of those circumstances of wretchedness and degradation which might be pointed out as characterizing that unhappy state of being.

Confining, however, our view to the particulars which have been specified, every enlightened Christian, nay every reasonable man, must allow that it is a case which calls loudly for interference. Is it possible that any free-born Britain should contemplate such a state of things, without the liveliest emotions of shame and grief and indignation; or that, satisfied with the recollection of his own comforts, he should refuse to listen to the cry of the wretched Negro? These things being made known to us, we are bound without hesitation or delay to come forward and address our earnest petitions to the Legislature, that a remedy may be applied to such enormous evils, and that our country may be delivered from the guilt of participating in a system so fraught with the grossest injustice and oppression to hundreds of thousands of our fellow-subjects.



It will hardly be alleged, that any man can have a RIGHT to retain his fellow-creatures in a state so miserable and degrading as has been described. And the absence of such RIGHT will be still more apparent, if we consider how these Slaves were originally obtained. They, or their parents, were the victims of the Slave Trade. They were obtained, not by any lawful means, or under any colourable pretext, but by the most undisguised rapine, and the most atrocious fraud. Torn from their homes and from every dear relation in life, barbarously manacled, driven like herds of cattle to the sea-shore, crowded into the pestilential holds of slave-ships, they were transported to our colonies and there sold into interminable bondage.

Great Britain, it is true, has abolished her African Slave-Trade, and branded it as felony; and it is impossible to reflect without exultation on that great act of national justice.

The grateful acknowledgments of the country are also due to the Government, for their persevering efforts to induce other nations to follow the same course, and thus to rescue Africa from the desolating effects of the Slave Trade. Those efforts, though hitherto unattended with all the success they merit, it is hoped, will be strenuously and unremittingly continued, until that nefarious traffic shall be declared PIRACY by the concurrent voice of all nations.

When the British Slave Trade was abolished, a confident expectation was entertained that the certain result of that measure would be the rapid mitigation and final extinction of the colonial bondage which had sprung from it, and which in its principle is equally indefensible.

Sixteen years, however, have now elapsed since the British Slave Trade was abolished; but, during that long period, no effectual steps have been taken, either in this country or in the colonies, for mitigating the rigours of Negro bondage, or for putting an end to a condition of society which so grievously outrages every feeling of humanity,

while it violates every recognised principle both of the British Constitution and of the Christian Religion.

The Government and Legislature of this country have on various occasions, and in the most solemn and unequivocal terms, denounced the Slave Trade as immoral, inhuman, and unjust; but the legal perpetuation of that state of slavery, which has been produced by it, is, surely, in its principle, no less immoral, inhuman, and unjust, than the trade itself.

Notwithstanding those solemn denunciations, thousands of children are still annually born SLAVES within the British dominions, and upwards of 800,000 of our fellow-creatures (the victims of the Slave Trade, or descended from its victims) are still retained in the same state of brutal depression. They are still driven like cattle to their uncompensated toil by the impulse of the lash. They are still exposed to severe and arbitrary punishments. They are still bought and sold as merchandize. They are still denied the blessings of the marriage tie, and of the Christian Sabbath. And, in a variety of other respects, they continue to be an oppressed and degraded race, without any adequate participation in the civil privileges, or in the religious advantages, to which, as British subjects, they are unquestionably entitled.

Even if it were admitted, that inconvenience might have arisen from immediately relaxing the bonds of the actual victims of the Slave Trade, or of their adult descendants, yet no satisfactory reason can be assigned, why, since the abolition of that trade, the children of those whom we proclaimed to have been unjustly deprived of their liberty should continue to inherit the unhappy condition of their parents.

It is by no means intended to attribute the existence and continuance of this most opprobrious system to our Colonists exclusively. On the contrary, the guilt and shame arising from it belong mainly to the People and Parliament of this country. But on that very account are we the more rigidly bound to lose no time in investigating the state of colonial

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bondage, and in adopting such measures as shall bring it to the earliest termination which is compatible with the well-being of the parties who sustain its grievous yoke.

But besides our paramount and indispensable obligations, on moral and religious grounds, to relieve our colonial bondsmen from the cruel and degrading state to which we have reduced them, and to remedy as far as we can the numberless wrongs of which we have been the criminal authors; it is further due to the character of Great Britain in the eyes of foreign nations, that we should act agreeably to the principles which, in our discussions with them relative to the African Slave Trade, we have professed to make the basis of our representations. It would be vain to expect that they should regard those professions as otherwise than insincere, or that they should defer to our representations, however urgent, if we exhibit in our own conduct the glaring inconsistency of sanctioning as legal, in our own dominions, practices of the very same nature, in effect, with those which we reprobate and denounce as immoral, inhuman, and unjust, when they occur on the coast of Africa.

It is therefore our clear and indisputable duty completely to reform our present colonial system, even if it should require a large pecuniary sacrifice to accomplish that object. But the proposed change, we believe, is prescribed to us, not more by moral and religious principle than by the soundest views of political expediency. In the present advanced state of knowledge, it can no longer be a question that the labour of Slaves is much less profitable than that of freemen, and that it can only be supported at a very heavy expense to the community at large. In proof of this, it will be sufficient to adduce the protecting duties and bounties afforded to the growers of sugar in the West Indies; and without which they declare it would be impossible for them to continue its culture. Indeed, we are persuaded that no institution which is directly at variance with the will of the Supreme Governor of the Universe can prove a source of permanent advantage either to nations or individuals. And, in the present case, it

might be clearly demonstrated, that the personal slavery which deforms the face of society in the British Colonies, and stains the British character, is as detrimental to the interests of the Slave Owner as it is cruel and oppressive to the Slave; and that its abolition, instead of proving an injury to either, will prove an unspeakable benefit to both.

The Colonists say, that they shall sustain a great actual loss by the proposed change of system. If so, they will of course have an opportunity of preferring and establishing their claim to indemnity. But whatever the extent of that claim may be proved to be, it is obvious that it attaches not to the Negro bondsman, but to the British nation. It would be repugnant to every idea of equity, if we were to discharge any debt we owe to the Colonists, not from our own resources, but with the toil and sweat and blood of our African brethren.

But, in whatever degree it may be found necessary to indemnify the colonists for any loss which may arise to them from the abolition of Negro Slavery; yet, *while that state of society continues unchanged*, there will be an insuperable objection in the mind of every conscientious individual to the adoption of any measures of pecuniary relief, by means of protecting duties or bounties on their produce, or otherwise; because it is obvious that such measures, however modified, would involve the people of this country in the farther guilt of upholding a system which, when the facts of the case are known, it is impossible not to feel to be utterly repugnant to the principles of justice and humanity, and to the whole spirit of Christianity.

In any event, it is hoped, that this momentous subject will be taken into the earliest consideration of Parliament, with the view of providing an effectual remedy for the evils of colonial bondage, and raising the unhappy subjects of it from their present state of wretchedness and degradation, to the enjoyment of the blessings of civil freedom and religious light; and it appears the unquestionable duty of the friends of humanity, in all parts of the kingdom, to

address their early and earnest petitions to the Legislature for that purpose.

The Committee subjoin a List of Publications containing important information on the general subject of Slavery, viz.

- Ramsey's Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of Negro Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies, 1784.**
- Debates on the Slave Trade, 1791, 1792, 1806, and 1807.**
- Wilberforce's Letter to his Constituents, 1807.**
- Pinkards Notes on the West Indies, 1815.**
- Collins's professional Planter, 1804.**
- Dixon's Mitigation of Slavery, 1814.**
- Watson's defence of the Missions in the West Indies, 1816.**
- Report of the African Institution on Reasons for a Registry of Slaves, 1815.**
- Review Colonial registry Bills by the African institutions, 1820**
- Sixteenth Annual report of the African Institution, 1822.**
- Stephens's Letters to Wilberforce on the Registry of Slaves, 1816.**
- Cropper's Letters to Wilberforce, 1822.**
- Singleton's Report of the state of Siera Leon, 1822.**
- Pamphleteer, No. XVI., containing Coster on the Amelioration of Slavery, 1816.**
- Wilberforce's Appeal to the Religion, Justice, and Humanity of the Inhabitants of the British Empire, on behalf of the Negro slaves in the West Indies, 1823.**
- Negro slavery, as it exists in the United States and in the West Indies, especially in Jamaica, 1823.**
- Cropper's Letter, on the injurious effects of High prices, and the beneficial effects of Low prices, on the condition of Slavery, 1823.**
- Hodgsons Letter to Say, on the comparative expense of Free and Slave labour, 1823.**
- East and West India Sugar, 1823.**
- Proceedings in the House of Commons, on slavery at the Cape of Good Hope, 1822.**
- The Inquirer, No. 2. 3. and 4, containing valuable discussions on the general subject of Negro slavery, 1823.**


**Declaration of the Objects of the Liverpool society for Abolishing slavery, 1823.**

**LONDON, April, 1823.**



**Donations or Annual Subscriptions, in aid of the Society's object, are received by SAMUEL HOARE ESQ. Treasurer to the Society, No. 62, Lombard Street; and at Messrs. DRUMMOND'S, Bankers, Charing Cross.**

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# ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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*His R'l. Highness, the Duke of Gloucester.*

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THE Committee of the “Society for mitigating and gradually abolishing the State of Slavery throughout the British Dominions,” have for some time been anxious to fulfil their promise of communicating to the Public a brief view of their progress and prospects, and such suggestions respecting the farther measures to be adopted as the state of their cause may require. The delay which occurred has, however, been unavoidable. They felt it to be necessary, before they made the promised communication, to ascertain, with as much precision as possible, the intentions of his Majesty’s Government with respect to this most momentous subject.

The circulation of the Society’s various publications appears to have produced a more extensive effect than could have been anticipated; and although the Session of Parliament was already considerably advanced before the public attention was engaged, no fewer than about two hundred and thirty Petitions were spontaneously addressed to Parliament, from all parts of the country, praying for the mitigation and gradual extinction of Slavery; and it is certain that the multiplication of similar petitions was only prevented by the parliamentary discussion of the question, which took place on the 15th of May.

On that day, Mr Buxton made a Motion to the following effect,—

“That the state of Slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British Constitution and of the Christian Religion; and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British Dominions, with as much expedition as may be consi-



tent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned."

Had this motion been agreed to, it was the intention of Mr Buxton, as he stated succinctly in his Speech, to follow it up, by moving for leave to bring in a Bill, or Bills, which should embrace the following specific objects.—viz.

To remove all the existing obstructions to the manumission of Slaves;—

To cause Slaves to cease to be Chattles in the eye of the law;—

To prevent their removal *as Slaves*, from Colony to Colony, and, under certain modifications, their sale or transfer, except with the land to which they might be attached;—

To abolish markets and compulsory labour on the Sunday; and to make that day a day of rest, as well as of religious worship and instruction; and also to secure to the Slaves equivalent time in each week, in lieu of Sunday, and in addition to any time which independently of Sunday is now afforded them, for cultivating their provision grounds;—

To protect the Slaves by law, in the possession and transmission of the property they may thus, or in other way acquire:—

To enable the Slave to purchase his freedom by the payment at once of a fair price for his redemption, or of a fifth part of that price at a time, in return for an additional day in the week to be employed for his own benefit:—

To make the testimony of Slaves available in Courts of Justice, both in civil and criminal cases;—

To relieve all Negroes and Persons of Colour from the burden of legally proving their freedom, when brought into question, and throw on the claimant of their persons the burden of legally proving his right to them;—

' To provide the means of religious instruction for the Black

and Coloured population, and of Christian education for their children;—

To institute marriage among the Slaves; and to secure that state from violation, and from either forcible or voluntary disruption;—

To put an end to the driving system;—

To put an end also to the arbitrary punishment of Slaves, and place their persons as well as property under the guardianship of the law;—

To provide that all the children born after a certain day shall be free,—care being taken of their education and maintenance until they shall be capable of acting for themselves;—

To provide that no Governor, Judge, Attorney-General, or Fiscal, shall be a possessor of Slaves, or shall have a direct and obvious reversionary interest in such property, or shall be the agent of the proprietors of Slaves.

Mr. CANNING, as the organ of his Majesty's Government, expressed his concurrence in the general object of putting an end, at some, though perhaps no very early period, to Slavery throughout the British Dominions. He abjured the idea of perpetual Slavery. He further expressed his concurrence in several of the specific measures by which it had been proposed to effect the general object. He objected, however, to the abstract form of Mr. Buxton's motion, and he proposed to substitute in its place the following Resolutions, which, at the close of the discussion, were unanimously adopted by the House—viz.

“1st. That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for meliorating the condition of the Slave population in his Majesty's Colonies.

“2d. That, through a determined and persevering, but judicious and temperate, enforcement of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement

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in the character of the Slave population; such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects.

“Sd. That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest period that may be compatible with the well-being of the Slaves, the safety of the Colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of all parties concerned therein.

“4th. That these Resolutions be laid before his Majesty.

As these propositions embraced substantially the general object which was contemplated in the original Motion, there could be no hesitation on the part of its supporters in acceding to their substitution. It was of the very highest importance that his Majesty's Government and Parliament should be concurrently and unanimously pledged to so unequivocal a declaration of the duty of effectually mitigating and eventually extinguishing the state of Colonial bondage; especially as that declaration, while it placed on record this invaluable principle, did not preclude the discussion either of any one of the specific measures of reform above enumerated, or of the means by which, with a view to the attainment of the general object, those measures might best be carried into effect.

The unqualified acquiescence of the West-Indian body in the Resolutions proposed by Mr. Canning, made it still more desirable to accede to them. Even the advantage to be gained by carrying the original Motion on a division, had this been a matter of choice, was not to be compared to that which could not fail to arise from the unanimous adoption of propositions so unexceptionable in themselves, brought forward as they had been by his Majesty's Ministers, and not opposed by any West-Indian proprietor in Parliament.

There still remained, however, considerable difference of opinion, with respect both the specific plans of reform which

were called for, and to the means by which those plans should be accomplished.

On this last point, Mr. Canning proposed that the Government should take the matter into their own hands. By this course, he conceived that whatever danger was to be apprehended from public, and perhaps angry, discussion, might be avoided, while the conflicting interests of the various parties concerned, might be more easily conciliated. With respect to such of the Colonies as had no local Legislatures, and in which the Crown possessed the whole power of making laws, the action of the Government would, of course, be more free and unfettered. There they might legislate by an Order in Council, which would also serve as a model of legislation for the other colonies. In the case of the latter, all that it was intended to do, in the first instance, was, to recommend the adoption of the proposed reform to the Colonial Legislatures, whose full and fair co-operation, however, Parliament, he said, had a right to expect; but, if an unlooked-for spirit of resistance should manifest itself, his Majesty's Government would then resort to Parliament for counsel.

In specifying the measures which his Majesty's Government have signified their intention of adopting, the Committee will not continue the specification to what actually fell from Mr. Canning during the debate on Mr. Buxton's motion. Subsequent communications have enabled them to modify the statement then made, so as to present, if not a particular and detailed, yet a clear and general view of the present purposes of his Majesty's government. They are as follow:—

That the existing obstructions to manumissions, arising from stamps or fines, or other fiscal regulations, shall be removed;—

That the Slaves shall be protected by law in the possession, and also in the transmission by bequest, or otherwise, of any property they acquire;—

That means shall be provided of religious instruction for the Slaves, and of Christian education for their children;—

**That the driving system shall be peremptorily and entirely abolished, so that the whip shall no longer be the stimulant of labour ;—**

**That an end shall also be absolutely put to the degrading corporal punishment of females ; and that measures shall be taken to restrain, generally, the power of arbitrary punishment, and to prevent its abuse :—**

**That, the means of religious instruction being provided, the Sundays shall be given up to the Slave for rest, recreation ; and religious instruction and worship (Sunday markets being abolished ;) and that equivalent time shall be allowed them, on other days, for the cultivation of their provision grounds ;—**

**That the marriage of Slaves shall be authorised, and sanctioned by law ; and that they shall likewise be protected in the enjoyment of their connubial rights.**

**In respect to the proposal of causing Slaves to cease from being mere chattels, and attaching them, under certain modifications, to the soil, it was said, that whatever reform of this kind was introduced must be prospective only, as its retrospective operation might disturb the present tenure of property, and take away, in many cases, the only security on which money had been advanced. The question was therefore reserved for further consideration.**

**The admission of the testimony of Slaves in Courts of Justice was also thought to be beset with so many difficulties as to require a more deliberate investigation. At the same time, Government professed themselves friendly to the principle of admitting the testimony of Slaves, subject only to such modifications as the interests of justice might for a time require.**

**The propriety of relieving Negroes and Persons of Colour from the operation of that unjust principle of Colonial law which subjects them to be dealt with as Slaves, unless they shall be able by legal proof to establish their right to freedom,**

was admitted; and it was signified that further inquiry should be made as to the means for granting them the requisite relief.

It was also admitted to be desirable that no Governor, Judge, Attorney-General, or Fiscal, nor any of the religious instructors to be appointed, should hold property in Slaves; and though it might be unfair to give to this principle a retro-active effect, yet that there could be no objection to its being made to operate prospectively.

The only remaining points were, the granting facilities to the adult Slaves to purchase their freedom; and the liberation from bondage of all children born after a certain day. In neither of these propositions have the Government hitherto signified their concurrence. Indeed, to the measure of freeing all children born after a certain day, they appeared to feel a more decided objection than to any other that had been suggested. Both the points were deemed of so much moment as to render further information and more mature consideration necessary, before they came to a final decision upon them.

In reviewing the Resolutions adopted by Parliament, and the declared intentions of his Majesty's Government, the Committee see very abundant cause of congratulation. They feel much gratified both by the admissions which they involve, and by the concurrent determination, which has been expressed by his Majesty's Government and by Parliament, to proceed to the immediate redress of some of the existing evils, and to secure eventually the extinction of the very state of slavery.

Still the Committee deeply regret that the mode of proceeding by Parliamentary enactment, in effecting the Colonial reforms which have been recognised as necessary, should not have been preferred to that of leaving this great work to be carried on through the medium of the Colonial Legislature. Past experience, to say the least, discourages any sanguine hope of their prompt, cordial, and efficient co-opera-

ration; and the Committee, therefore, lay their account in meeting with much delay and disappointment, as the consequence of this arrangement.

But, besides this disadvantage, it must be recollected that there are some points, of great and vital moment, on which no distinct hope of reform has yet been given. It has not been declared that Slaves shall cease to be chattels; that they shall no longer continue, in this respect, as well as for every other purpose of sale or transfer, on the same degrading level with the beasts of the field. They are still liable to be transported, as the master's interest or caprice may dictate, from one Island to another, and separated for ever from their families and dearest connexions, and from their native home. It has not yet been settled, that their testimony shall be received in Courts of Law, although without this, the value of many other provisions in their favour must be greatly diminished. No expectation has yet been given that they shall enjoy facilities for obtaining their freedom by their own exertions. And, above all, their progeny are still doomed to be born to the same wretched inheritance with their parents, notwithstanding the undeniable injustice and cruelty of such a destination. And with respect to the points on which a more favourable decision has been signified, they are yet to be fulfilled, and that in the face, it is to be feared, of many unappreciated difficulties.

Let not, therefore, the friends of our enslaved fellow-subjects assume that their work is accomplished. In fact, it is only begun. We are only entering on the field of our labours. We have made, it is true, a fair and hopeful commencement. The influence of the public feeling which has been so remarkably displayed, has effected much. But the ground we have already gained may be lost; and still more, our farther progress may be delayed, or even wholly obstructed, if we should remit our efforts. Nothing which has occurred ought to have the effect of relaxing, in the very slightest degree our vigilance and activity. On the contrary, the success already obtained should only stimulate us to increased

exertion; for whatever measures, with a view to the ultimate attainment of our objects, were previously deemed necessary, may be considered as no less imperiously called for at the present moment.

In this persuasion, the Committee would particularly recommend that ASSOCIATIONS should be formed in every part of the United Kingdom, for the purpose of co-operating to diffuse information, to procure the requisite funds, and to call forth the distinct expression of public opinion on the subject.

The Committee feel that their cause owes much to those petitioners who, in the last session, addressed Parliament with such promptitude and effect. They trust that the same earnest pleadings will be renewed at an early period of the next session. They trust that, not only from the same places which have already raised their voice in the sacred cause of justice and humanity, but from every county and every town in the United Kingdom, one energetic and concurrent appeal will be made to both Houses of the Legislature, in behalf of our enslaved fellow-subjects; praying that they may be admitted, at the earliest safe and practicable period, to a participation in those civil rights and privileges, and in those moral and religious blessings, which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects: and that this nation may not be permitted to incur the farther guilt (now that our eyes are opened to the flagrant iniquity of such a course of conduct) of daily augmenting the miserable victims of an unjust and merciless policy, by subjecting the Children, who may hereafter be born, to the same state of abject and degrading bondage to which we have been the criminal instruments of reducing their progenitors.

To activity, vigilance, and perseverance in this course, there are the strongest motives to animate us which can call forth the exertions of Britons and of Christians. We have the cheering hope of being instrumental in rescuing upwards of Eight Hundred Thousand of our fellow-subjects



from a state of Slavery which outrages every feeling of humanity, which violates every principle of the British Constitution, and is repugnant to the whole spirit of the Christian Religion. And, still more, we may indulge the hope of contributing to deliver them from that more fatal bondage,—that yoke of ignorance, vice and irreligion,—beneath which our institutions have continued so long to retain them. May these considerations operate on every mind with an energy which no delay or disappointment can enfeeble, and which no difficulties or opposition shall be able to resist; and, with the blessing of God upon our zealous, united, and uninterrupted efforts, we may look forward to the not very distant time when we shall be called to rejoice together in the final accomplishment of our work of mercy.

*Aldermanbury, 12th August, 1823.*

***Petitions presented to the House of Commons  
for the Abolition of Negro Slavery.***

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Alfreton, Allenby, Ampthill, Andover, Appleby, Ashburne, Ashley. Associate Congregations of Alnwick, Anthillet, Auchtermuchty, Biggar, Braehead, Cambusnathan, Carnwath, Crail, Cupar. Dundee, Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Mid-Calder, Muckhart, Peebles, Selkirk, Associate Synod of the Secession, Attleboro, Baldock, Baltiore, Kildare, Banbury, Barnard Castle, Bath, Bawtry, Beccles, Bedwellty, Belfont, Belper, Bergerholt, East, Birmingham, Blyth, Northumberland, Bolton, Great and Little, Bootle, Cumberland, Bradford, Yorkshire, Brandon, Brintree and Bocking, Brechin, N. B. Bridgenorth, Bridgerule, Bridgewater, Bridport, Brigham, Bristol, Brosely, Brough-Burslem, Bury St. Edmunds, Cambridge University, Cambridge Town, Calne, Cardiff, Carlisle, Carmarthan, Castle Dorrington, Cavil & Walls-End, Charlbury, Chatteris, Chelmsford, Cheltenham, Chester, Chesterfield, Chester-le Street, Chipping Norton, Cockersmouth, Coggeshall and Kelvedon, Coggeshall, Colchester, Coventry, Crickhowell, Cromer, Darlington, Derby, Diss, Dover, Dudley, Dumfries, N. B.

Dunmow, Durham, Eaglesfield, East Dereham, Eccleshall, Evesham, Exeter, Eye, Falmouth, Faringdon, Framlingham, Frome-Selwood, Gainsborough, Gateshead, Giggleswick, Gloucester, Gosforth, Greysouthern, Griningham, Hackney, Hadleigh, Halesworth, Halstead, Hanly & Sheldon, Harling east, Harrington, Hensingham, Hertford county, Hexham, Hinkley, Hitchin, Hoden and adjacent parts of Holderness, Horsham, Huddersfield, Hull, Huntingdon, Inverkeithing, Ipswich, Kendal, Kenninghall, Knaresborough, Lanark, N. B. Lancaster, Leeds, Leicester, Leominster, Lilliesleaf, Liskeard, Liverpool, Llangatock, Longlow, Loughborough, Lutterworth, Madelay, Maer Maxton, Maldon, Malton, Manchester and Salford, Manningtree, Mansfield, Nottingham, Market Drayton, Maryport, Matlock, Mutford and Lothingland, Nantwich, Neath, Needham Market, Nether Wadsdale, Newcastle on-Tyne, Newcastle under-Line, Norfolk, County of, Norwich, North Walsham, Nottingham, Olney Bucks, Ovingham, Pakefield and Kirkley, Pembroke, County of, Penith, Plymouth, Pontefract, Poole, Portsea, Philalethan Society, Preston, Pyworth, Rawden, Retford, Rochdale, Rochester and Chatham, Rossendale, Rowinglass, Cumberland, Royston, Saffron Walden, Salisbury, Salop, County of, Scarborough, Shaftesbury, Sheffield, Sherborne, Shiffnall. Shoreditch, Parish of, Society of Friends, Southwark, South-Shields, Stafford; County of, Staindrop, Staides, Standon, Stockton, Stoke-upon Trent, Stone, Stonehouse, Stow Market, Stroud, Sudbury, Sunderland, Swansea, Tewksbury, Thetford, Truro Tynemouth, Uttoxeter, Uxbridge, Wakefield, Walthamstow, Warrington, Wells next the Sea, Wellington Salop, Westoe, Whitehaven, Wickham Market. Wigton Cumberland, Wirksworth Witham, Woodbridge, Worcester, Workington, Wymondham, Yarmouth, Great, Yarrow, Durham, Yeovil, York.



# MINUTES

OF THE

NINETEENTH SESSION

OF THE

## American Convention

FOR PROMOTING THE

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY,

AND IMPROVING

THE CONDITION OF THE AFRICAN RACE,

CONVENED AT PHILADELPHIA,

On the Fourth day of October, 1825.

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PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE CONVENTION,

Atkinson & Alexander, printers.

.....  
1825.

*Nineteenth Convention/867*



## MINUTES.

### COMMON COUNCIL CHAMBER.

At a meeting of the American Convention, for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. held at Philadelphia, 10th month, (October) 4th, 1825, Daniel Raymond was appointed Chairman; and Thomas Shipley, Secretary.

Communications from the Providence, (R. I.) Society, for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, from the New-York Manumission Society, from the Pennsylvania Society, for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. &c., from the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland, and from the Manumission Society of Tennessee, were received, by which it appears that the following persons are appointed Delegates to the Convention, viz.

#### *Providence.*

Hector Coffin.

#### *New-York.*

Cadwallader D. Colden,	Isaac Collins,
Robert C. Cornell,	Isaac M. Ely,
Israel Corse,	James Palmer.

#### *Pennsylvania.*

John Sergeant,	Edwin P. Atlee,
Jonas Preston,	Thomas Earle,
William Rawle, Jr.	Joseph W. Rowland,
Isaac Barton,	Caleb Carmalt,
Solomon Temple,	Thomas Shipley.

*Maryland.*

Daniel Raymond.

*Tennessee.*

Benjamin Lundy.

Many of the Delegates being absent, on motion the Convention adjourned to 4 o'clock, P. M.

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Convention met pursuant to adjournment.—Daniel Raymond, in the Chair.

On motion, the Convention proceeded to the election of officers; Isaac Barton and E. P. Atlee, were appointed Tellers, from whose report it appeared, that the following officers were duly elected, viz.

<i>President,</i>	JOHN SERGEANT, Esq.
<i>Vice-President,</i>	DANIEL RAYMOND, Esq.
<i>Secretary,</i>	EDWIN P. ATLEE, M. D.
<i>Assist. Secretary,</i>	HECTOR COFFIN.
<i>Treasurer,</i>	JONAS PRESTON, M. D.

An Address from the Pennsylvania Society, to the Convention was presented, which was read and ordered to be entered on the minutes.

Then adjourned to 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

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10th month, 5th, 10 o'clock, A. M.—Convention assembled—Daniel Raymond in the Chair.

The following communications from the different Manumission and Abolition Societies to the American Convention were read.

*To the American Convention, for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. to be holden in the City of Philadelphia, on the 4th day of October, 1825.*

PROVIDENCE, STATE OF RHODE  
ISLAND, &c. 23d SEPT. 1825.

At a meeting of the "Providence Society, for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for the relief of persons unlawfully held in bondage, and for improving the condition of the African Race," specially convened this day, for the purpose of appointing a delegate, to join the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. to be holden in the City of Philadelphia, on the 4th day of October, 1825, Hector Coffin of Philadelphia, was unanimously elected to that office, and he is hereby authorized to take a seat in said Convention, and to act in all proceedings which may come before them, as the representative of this Society.

Signed by order, and in behalf of said Society.

GEORGE JACKSON, *Secretary.*

#### *ADDRESS FROM NEW-YORK.*

To "The American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race," to meet at Philadelphia, in its nineteenth session, on the fourth day of the Tenth month, 1825.

More than thirty years have now elapsed, since, prompted as we believe, by a thorough conviction of the atrocious injustice of unconditional servitude, and by sympathy for

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the sufferings and deprivations of the miserable victims of that oppressive system which still exists in some parts of our beloved country; seven societies formed for promoting the abolition of slavery and improving the condition of the African race, agreed upon the formation of a general convention: in order to strengthen one another in the prosecution of their common concern, and to disseminate more widely the sentiments with which they were so strongly impressed. Eighteen sessions of this convention of delegates from various quarters, have been held, and their proceedings have been published. The nineteenth is at hand; and we of the New-York society, encouraged by what has been effected, and seeing that much yet remains to be done, hope and trust that the united efforts of the friends of freedom will continue to be strenuous and unremitted, till the nation be fully awakened to a sense of the magnitude of the evil in question, and the foul stain of oppression no longer dim the escutcheon of our country's glory.

The conduct of individuals must ever be left in a great measure to the direction of individual opinion; the only legitimate object of civil government, and the interference of civil authority, being to promote the common good, the prosperity and happiness of the people, by the prosecution of works of public utility, and the protection of all against the encroachments of each. And, in a country like ours, where it is universally acknowledged in words, that "all men are born free and equal," and where the people (except one unfortunate class) claim and exercise "the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves as a free, sovereign and independent state"—in a country, where the voice of the people has an almost immediate influence on the conduct and character of the government, and where no public authority can stand without their assent—all changes and reforms must be wrought through the medium of conviction brought home to the bosoms of individuals.



But abuses that have become inveterate by time, that are interwoven with the very constitution of society, that are strengthened by habit and prejudice, that are supported by the strong ties of interest, that have been long submitted to with little remonstrance, and that by their own worst influence, render men insensible to their enormity; however glaring they may seem to those who view them more abstractedly, however grievous they may be to those who suffer under them, and however portentous they may appear to those who discuss the signs of the times, cannot be supposed to admit of a speedy, easy, and safe redress. A long, and patient, and vigorous exertion of the best talents, must be required for their entire removal. Such we apprehend to be the case with slavery in this country. It cannot be safely eradicated, but by cautious and progressive measures steadily pursued. It must require much labour so to portray, and present the subject to the minds of the many who must act or acquiesce in the measures adopted, as to bring conviction home, and prompt them to declare in favour of emancipation. But the work is in train, and much has already been achieved; and we ardently desire to see it carried on to its consummation. In our own State, slavery will be abolished on the 4th of July, 1827; and, the minds of our citizens being gradually prepared for this event, we doubt not it will be met with a cheerful acquiescence. We trust, that the time is not far distant, when other States will be prepared to adopt such a measure. And we hope, that the opponents of slavery in all those States which have not yet fixed the date of its extinction, will not relax their efforts, till the work of emancipation is accomplished throughout the Union.

We believe that the maintenance of the convention will contribute towards the accomplishment of the great end we have in view. All exertions by which the public mind is to be influenced and public measures are to be effected,

require knowledge, counsel, union, and co-operation. As individuals, we can do but little; but while the societies instituted for promoting manumission are maintained, the exertions of the intelligent and judicious may be extensively influential. The cause is worthy of the tongue of eloquence, and the pen of the ready writer. We commend it to all who possess the secret of persuading men's minds. It is the cause of justice, of honour, of humanity, of MAN.

The curse of slavery pursues the descendants of slaves from generation to generation. And when the work of emancipation is effected, all is not done which justice demands of those who have been the means of their degradation. Personal liberty is of little avail to him who is the slave of ignorance and vice. This truth, which has been so often perverted, and made the basis of a sophism in extenuation of the enslaving of negroes, ought ever to be regarded as a sound reason, and the basis of a sacred obligation, to bestow upon them more than that personal liberty which is every man's natural birth-right. Without some degree of literary, moral, and religious instruction, no person can rise to respectability in civilized society. The want of such instruction, together with the positive influence of low and vicious example, is sufficient to account for all the intellectual and moral inferiority of our free coloured population.

The maintenance of the schools under the care of this society, is now the principal, if not the most important object of our attention. And we have the satisfaction to state, that these institutions continue to flourish, and to afford convincing evidence of their own ability. The average number of coloured children of both sexes, reported from time to time, during the last two years, as belonging to these schools, is 711. They are instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, a few in grammar and geography, and the larger girls, in needle-work. Endeavours are used to train

them to correct moral habits, and to imbue their minds with the general truths of christian doctrine.

Our standing committee continue their attention to such instances of the violation of the laws respecting slaves, as come within their knowledge. Since the last session of the convention, in 1823, they have taken notice of 73 cases of complaint. In twenty-two of these cases, the applicants obtained their freedom ; in sixteen, no relief could be offered ; in ten, there appeared to be no real cause of complaint ; in fourteen, the requisite information was not obtained, and eleven remain yet under care.

We have appointed Cadwallader D. Colden, Isaac Collins, Robert C. Cornell, Isaac M. Ely, Israel Corse and James Palmer, to represent us in the approaching convention.

*The following is a list of our Officers for the current year :*

Cadwallader D. Colden,	<i>President.</i>
George Newbold,	<i>1st Vice-President.</i>
Peter Augustus Jay.	<i>2d Vice President.</i>
Goold Brown,	<i>Secretary.</i>
Thomas P. Brown,	<i>Assistant Secretary.</i>
Robert C. Cornell,	<i>Treasurer.</i>
Joseph Corles,	<i>Register.</i>

Barney Corse,	<i>Chairman,</i>	} Of the Standing Committee.
Oliver Hull,	<i>Secretary,</i>	

John R. Willis,	<i>Chairman,</i>	} Of the Board of Trustees.
William W. Mott,	<i>Secretary,</i>	

Dr John Stearns,	<i>Chairman,</i>	} Of the Committee of Correspondence.
Robert F. Mott,	<i>Secretary,</i>	

Joshua Underhill,	<i>Chairman,</i>	} Of the Committee of Ways and Means.
Mahlon Day,	<i>Secretary,</i>	

## COUNSELLORS,

C. D. Colden,  
 Peter A. Jay,  
 William Johnson,  
 Isaac M. Ely,

Benjamin Clark,  
 William Slossen,  
 Thomas A. Emmett,  
 Ira Clizbe.

Signed by direction and on behalf of a meeting of the  
 New York Manumission Society, held 10th Month, 1st,  
 1825.

CADWALLADER D. COLDEN, *President.*

GOOLD BROWN, *Secretary.*



*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of  
 Slavery, and improving the condition of the African  
 Race.*

The Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition  
 of Slavery, &c. in addressing the Convention at this time,  
 feel much pleasure in adverting to the continued progress  
 of the principles of liberty ; and earnestly desire that the  
 exertions of the opponents of Slavery and oppression may  
 be commensurate with the importance of the cause they  
 have espoused.

When we take a review of the long continued exertions  
 of our brethren in England to abolish the Slave trade, and  
 the signal success which at last crowned their efforts, and  
 when we see this band of philanthropists, with accumulated  
 numbers, combining their strength to eradicate Slavery it-  
 self from the British dominions, we feel a glow of enthusi-  
 asm to emulate their virtue and perseverance.

The just and magnanimous conduct of the Colombian  
 government in abolishing Slavery, we trust will not be lost  
 on the United States. In a population of three millions,  
 it is stated by Ravenga, that Blacks and Indians amounted

to nine hundred thousand ; of these a large number were emancipated by individuals at once ; Boliver gave liberty to seven hundred, and others acted in a similar manner. By a law of the state the children were all made free, on the adoption of the Constitution ; and for the liberation of the adults, a legacy duty was levied on all disposable property, varying from three to ten per cent ; which fund can never be appropriated to a different object, so long as a slave remains in the state, and which is rapidly producing its intended effects. It is important to observe that the noble example thus set to older nations has been attended with the best effects ; although at the time the country was overrun with hostile armies, and the masters were frequently obliged to abandon their property, the docility on the part of the blacks was never so conspicuous, and the confidence and security of the whites greater than at any previous period. In Bencoolen, in Ceylon, and in the island of St. Helena the same experiments have been tried and with the like happy results. Although comparatively little has been done in the United States for some years, to abolish slavery or even to mitigate its horrors, yet we are satisfied that the labours of the friends of liberty have not been lost ; the minds of the people have been gradually preparing for a change in the situation of the slaves, and new societies for abolishing slavery have sprung up in the midst of slave-holders, and it is confidently hoped, that ere long, two more states will have erased that stain from their escutcheon.

The existence of slavery and of the slave trade within the United States, is at variance not only with our declaration to the world when we became an independent nation but in direct contradicton to the facts assumed by Congress in the acts relating to the foreign slave trade ; for can it be supposed that the same nation who punished her citizens with death for buying and selling the natives of Africa, would yet permit a trade in the descendants of Africa born on her

own soil, and whose labours and sweat had contributed to fill her coffers? and when we pronounced the slave trade to be piracy, did we not forever extinguish our title to a slave? for is he not the product of that traffic?

The sectional jealousies created by this iniquitous system, the trembling anxieties of some of the states lest their usurped rights should be infringed, and the repeated violations of the Constitution to protect the master from the slave, indubitably prove that the evil has attained its crisis and calls loudly for a remedy.

Impressed with the strongest belief, that slavery in the United States is upheld principally by ignorance and prejudice, we do not hesitate to believe, that were our deluded fellow citizens fully to examine the subject, as well in relation to its immoral effects on society, as in relation to its tendency to reduce the value of land, repress improvements, and discourage the industrious poor; and above all, were they sensible of the awful responsibility of entailing on innocent children the slavery of their mothers, they would rejoice in the opportunity of restoring them to their natural rights.

The practice of kidnapping free persons of colour, still continues to prevail, and we are not without a fear, that in some cases, free persons are claimed as slaves before judicial tribunals with an intention of depriving them of their liberty by false testimony: in other instances, persons indentured as apprentices have been carried into slave states and sold into bondage: in those cases where proof could be obtained, our acting committee have afforded the necessary assistance.

It has been a frequent taunt in the mouths of slave holders, that the avarice of their opposers prevailed over their scruples, in partaking of the profits of slavery; it has, therefore, become necessary for us seriously to consider whether we are not materially contributing to this iniqui-

tous system by using its products and sharing in its gains. The products of slavery having become objects of speculation, the domestic slave trade has received a new impulse; large numbers of these unfortunate persons have been transported in vessels coastwise, as well as driven in chains from one state to another: may we not fear that He whose ear is open to the cry of the oppressed, will visit this national crime with a national punishment?

The abolition of slavery within the District of Columbia has again claimed our attention, and we cannot avoid the reflection, that had the opponents of slavery more frequently presented the subject to the view of Congress, it would not now disgrace our statute book.

The several schemes of colonization in Africa and emigration to Hayti, have been frequently under our consideration, but we have not been able to discover the splendid advantages held forth by their advocates, and have, in consequence, refrained from using any influence to promote their views. The society have noticed with much pleasure the recent recognition of the government of Hayti by the court of France; this has removed one of the greatest obstacles to the happiness of that republic, and we hope will render it at a future period, a suitable asylum to such of our coloured fellow citizens as may choose to emigrate thither.

The situation of the free coloured population has continued to claim our attention, and we have the satisfaction to believe that their situation is gradually improving. The education of their off-spring has always been a favourite object with this society: about one hundred and seventy children, of both sexes, are instructed in our Hall, one half of whom are under the charge of "The Association of Friends for the education of poor children." 250 Children are in the public school, besides a large number in private seminaries, and we confidently hope, that as the rising generation take the place of their parents, (many of whom had acqui-

red the most depraved habits previous to their emancipation,) the advantages of their instruction will be manifest in the correctness of their conduct.

The intercourse maintained between the several societies by means of the Convention, we believe tends to encourage those who are striving "as in the front of the battle," and we ardently desire that the Convention may embrace every suitable opportunity to advance the righteous cause, "to break the bonds of the enslaved, and let the oppressed go free."

We have appointed the following persons Delegates to the Convention, and subjoin a list of the Officers of this Society:

Delegates—John Sergeant, Jonas Preston, Thomas Shipley, William Rawle, jr., Isaac Barton, Joseph W. Rowland, Edwin P. Atlee, Solomon Temple, Caleb Carmalt and Thomas Earle.

Signed by direction and on behalf of the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for the relief of free Negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and for improving the condition of the African race.

W. RAWLE, *President*.

*Philadelphia, 10th mo. (Oct.) 4th, 1825.*

SAMUEL MASON, Jr. *Secretary*.

#### OFFICERS.

<i>President</i>	William Rawle Esqr.
<i>Vice-Presidents,</i>	Joseph M. Paul, and Jonas Preston.
<i>Treasurer,</i>	Henry Trcth.
<i>Secretaries,</i>	Samuel Mason, Jr. and Edwin P. Atlee.



*From the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland.*

This is to certify, that Daniel Raymond, Esq. was appointed by the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland, at a meeting held at Baltimore, the 17th of September, 1825, as a representative of that association to the biennial meeting of the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race, at its next session in Philadelphia.

By order of the Society,

P. ALLEN, *Vice Pres't.*

Attest,

EDWARD NEEDLES, *Secretary.*

*From the Manumission Society of Tennessee.*

This is to certify, that Benjamin Lundy was appointed by the Eleventh Convention of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, held at Lost Creek, Jefferson County, on the 15th of August, 1825, as a representative of that Association to the biennial meeting of the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race, at its next session at Philadelphia.

Done by order of the Convention,

JAMES JONES, *President.*

Attest,

THOMAS DOAN, *Clerk.*

On motion, the following persons were selected as a committee of Arrangement, viz.

Hector Coffin, Israel Corse, Jonas Preston, Thomas Shipley, Daniel Raymond, B. Lundy and J. W. Rowland.

The following Resolutions were presented by T. Earle, and on motion, ordered to lie on the table, viz.

1. "Resolved, That this Convention cordially approves of the proposition to appropriate the public lands of the United States to the Abolition of Slavery, and to the transportation of the emancipated persons of colour, to such country as they may choose for their residence."

2. "Resolved, That a committee be appointed to draft a memorial to Congress, expressive of the sentiments contained in the foregoing resolution."

3. "Resolved, That a committee be appointed to draft a memorial to Congress praying the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia."

D. Raymond offered the following, viz.

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, the only effectual means of abolishing Slavery in the U. States, is by the passage of laws in the several states, fixing a day, after which, all persons born in the respective states shall be free at a certain age."

"Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the different Abolition Societies in the U. States, and to all individual who are friendly to the extirpation of Slavery from the U. States, to use their endeavours to procure the passage of such a law in the states in which they reside."

The following resolution was offered by J. W. Rowland, viz.

"Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to digest and propose a systematized plan for the direction of the efforts of the American Convention and the several Associations therein represented, in order to promote the objects for which they were instituted."

Which being read, was on motion, referred to the Committee of Arrangement, and J. W. Rowland added to that committee.

Jonas Preston and Thomas Shipley were constituted a Committee to examine the Treasurer's account, and procure from him the Books, Papers, Monies, &c. belonging to the Convention.

The following resolutions were presented by I. Barton, and ordered to be laid on the table, viz.

1. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Convention it is now incumbent upon the friends of the Abolition of Slavery in the United States, to give a decided preference to the products of free labour

2. And that it is expedient that a moderate premium be offered on the articles of Sugar, Cotton, Rice and Tobacco, which are accompanied by satisfactory evidence that they are the products of the labour of Freemen.

W. Rawle, jr. offered the following resolution, viz.

*Resolved*, That the minutes of the Acting Committee be referred to the Committee of Arrangement to select such parts of them as it may think proper to insert in the Minutes of the Convention.

Which was read and adopted.

Adjourned to 4 o'clock, P. M.



4 o'clock, P. M.

Convention met.—The President being absent, D. Raymond, Vice President, took the chair.

B. Lundy made some observations tending to explain the present state of the cause of abolition in Tennessee—from which it appeared that this cause is advancing in that state, and that the friends of freedom are encouraged steadily to pursue their object.

The following Report of the Committee of Arrangement was read, viz.

The Committee of Arrangement having examined and considered the several communications addressed to the Convention by the several societies represented.

### **REPORT:**

That in these addresses they have found much useful and important information, well calculated to cheer and encourage the friends of humanity and of the oppressed African.

The subjects which, in the opinion of the Committee, will require the attention of the Convention, are, *in part*, as follows, viz.

1. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to consider and report on the best means to obtain the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

2. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to examine if any, and what further measures can be taken to prevent the illegal introduction of slaves into the United States.

3. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to enquire what are the best means for the abolition of slavery.

4. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to draft a memorial to Congress requesting them to recommend to the several states, to adopt measures for the extinction of slavery.

5. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to propose such measures as are best calculated to extend education among the coloured population.

Your committee has examined the minutes of the acting committee, and recommends that the circular address to humane and intelligent individuals and societies, be extracted and inserted at large on the minutes of this Convention—also the memorial addressed to the State Legislatures for promoting the abolition of slavery.

Signed, on behalf of the committee,

ISRAEL CORSE. *Chairman.*

And on motion, the Convention proceeded to consider said report by paragraphs.

The preamble and resolutions were all adopted except the 4th resolution, which, after considerable discussion, was, on motion, indefinitely postponed. The concluding section of the report was adopted.

The following are the committees on the several resolutions :

*1st Resolution*, D. Raymond, Solomon Temple and J. W. Rowland.

*2d Resolution*, B. Lundy, W. Rawle, jr. and Israel Corse.

*3d Resolution*, J. Preston, I. Barton, H. Coffin and J. W. Rowland.

*5th Resolution*, C. Carmalt, H. Coffin and T. Shipley.

Who are to report to a future meeting this session.

B. Lundy having presented the following resolution, it was, on motion, ordered to lie on the table, viz.

*Whereas*, this Convention has received the gratifying information, that the friends of the abolition of slavery have formed a number of new societies in several of the states to the south, particularly in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee; and *Whereas*, it is considered of essential importance that all those societies which may desire it, shall be represented in this Convention :—Therefore, in order to render it more convenient for some of them to send delegates thereto,

*Resolved*, That at the end of the present session of this Convention, it will adjourn to meet again in the city of Baltimore, on the 25th day of 10th mo. (October,) 1826.

Then adjourned. to re-assemble to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

10th Month, 6th.

Convention met at the appointed time.

The report of the committee appointed on the 2d resolution, presented by the committee of arrangement, was read, and on motion, directed to lie on the table.

The resolution presented by B. Lundy was then called up, and on motion, the Convention was resolved into a committee of the whole, and Jonas Preston called to the chair, for the purpose of considering said resolution, which was adopted.

The following resolution, presented by Isaac Barton, was read, and on motion, adopted, viz.

*Resolved*, That the acting committee to be appointed hereafter, are hereby instructed to ascertain, as far as practicable, the names and places of location of all the Abolition and Manumission Societies in the United States, and at a suitable time previous to the adjourned meeting of the present, and of the next session of this Convention, inform said societies of the time and place for holding the same, and request them to send delegates thereto.

The Convention then again resolved itself into a committee of the whole, Jonas Preston in the chair, to consider the resolution presented by D. Raymond.

The committee rose, reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again,—

Then on motion, adjourned to 3 o'clock, P. M.



3 o'clock, P. M.

Convention met near the appointed time.

The President and Vice-President being absent, J. Preston was appointed Chairman, pro. tem.

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The following report of the committee on the 3d resolution of the committee of arrangement, was read and ordered to lie on the table, viz.

The committee appointed "to enquire what means are best calculated to abolish slavery," respectfully

### **REPORT:**

That they have endeavoured to give to the subject submitted to them, that attention which its importance merits; and agree to recommend to the Convention the following resolutions, viz.

*Whereas*, the abolition of slavery in the United States, must emphatically be the act of the people:—and *Whereas*, there is good cause to believe that this practice is now mainly upheld by mistaken self-interest, prejudice, and an incorrect estimate of its nature and tendency, and that much good would result from convincing the public mind in the slave-holding states, of the impolicy and injustice of slavery, therefore,

*Resolved*, That the acting committee be instructed to collect, digest, and circulate, throughout the slave-holding states, such facts and other information as is calculated to prove the impolicy of slavery, and the practicability, safety and advantage of emancipation.

And *Whereas*, all legislative measures, having for their object the extinction of slavery, should, as far as practicable, be the act of the respective State Legislatures, whose citizens will be principally affected by them, therefore,

*Resolved*, That the acting committee be instructed to prepare and transmit an address to Pastors, Teachers, and others engaged in the instruction of the human race:—and those, whose talents, or virtue has given them extensive public influence, requesting their aid in procuring the passage of such laws in their respective States, as shall fix a

period (as little remote as possible,) after which, all persons of colour born in their respective States, shall be free at a certain age; And whereas, one strong practical illustration in the United States of the advantage of free over slave labour would have an important tendency to induce voluntary manumission—therefore,

*Resolved*, That a premium of                      dollars, or a medal of equal value (at the option of the successful candidate) be awarded to such inhabitant of the United States, as shall, within five years, from the present time, most clearly exemplify the comparative value of slave and free labour, by an accurate statement of the nett profits arising from the employment of his slaves, and the nett profits arising from the same number and description of persons when manumitted, or employed as freemen in his service, and in the same species of labour.

*On behalf of the Committee,*

JONAS PRESTON, *Chairman*.

*Philadelphia, Oct. 6, 1825.*

*On motion*, The Convention resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to further consider the first paragraph of the resolution submitted by D. Raymond. Jonas Preston in the chair.

The committee having reported further progress, obtained leave to sit again, when the Convention, on motion, adjourned till to-morrow morning, at 9 o'clock.

*10th Month 7th, 1825.*

At 9 o'clock, A. M. the Convention met.

A motion being carried to appoint a committee to examine the Constitution, and report what alterations are expedient to be made therein; the following persons were nominated to that service, viz.—Jonas Preston, Isaac Barton, and Joseph W. Rowland.



CR.

# Dr. AMERICAN CONVENTION, &c. IN ACCOUNT WITH ABRAHAM L. PENNOCK, LATE TREASURER.

1823. 12th. Mo. 12th,	To Cash to Benjamin Lundy, per order of Acting Committee,	\$10		1824. 1st Mo. 12th.	By Cash received from Jonas Preston, former Treasurer,	\$96	79
		34			By do. from H. Troth, Treas- urer of the Pennsylvania So- ciety, amount of that Society's draft in favour of the Conven- tion, under date of 9th Month, 9th, 1819.	60	
	To do. to B. and T. Kite, do.	44	20		By balance,	15	29
19th,	To do. to Daniel Neall, do.	6	63		There remain due to the Convention, two warrants on the Treasurer of the Pennsylvania Society,	\$172	08
27th.	To do. to Thomas Shipley do.				One dated 10th Month, 1st, 1821, for	40	
1824.	To do. to Philip Price, jr. do.	54	50		The other, 10th Month, 8th, 1823,	30	
12th. Mo.	To do. to Atkinson & Alexan- der, do.	10	75		Four dividends of \$20 each, have ac- crued on the 8 Shares, held by the Convention, in the Stock of the Phi- ladelphia Bank, which for want of a requisite formality, have not been collected:—They amount to	80	
1825.					Outstanding,	\$150	
10th. Mo. 4th.	To do. to do. do.	12					
		\$172	08				
	To balance due A. L. Pennock,	15	29				
	E. E.						

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EXAMINED AND APPROVED,

J. PRESTON,  
THOMAS SHIPLEY.

Committee.

ABM. L. PENNOCK.

Philadelphia, 10th Month, 7th, 1825.

Philadelphia, 10th Month, 7th, 1825.

The following were offered by Isaac Barton, viz.

*“Resolved,* That the subscription for 10 copies of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, sanctioned by the last Session of this Convention, be, and the same is hereby continued for one year from this time. to be distributed at the option of the acting committee, viz.

*“Resolved,* That the acting committee be, and they are hereby directed to have printed and distributed, the number of 750 copies of the minutes of the proceedings of the present Session of the Convention,” which were adopted.

The report of the committee on the 3d Resolution offered by the committee of arrangement, being now taken up, it was, on motion, agreed to consider it by paragraphs: the 1st and 2d paragraphs being read, were adopted.

The Convention, on motion, resolved into a committee of the whole, on the 3d paragraph.

The committee reporting progress, and obtaining leave to sit again this afternoon; on motion, adjourned to half past three o'clock, P. M.

*Half past 3 o'clock, P. M.*

Vice-President in the chair.

The following report of the committee, to examine the Treasurer's account, &c. was read and accepted, viz.

The committee appointed to settle the accounts of Abraham L. Pennock, late Treasurer, report, That they have examined his account and compared it with his vouchers, and find a balance due to him of \$15 29. They have received from him the certificates and papers belonging to the Convention.

*Resolved,* That the present Treasurer be directed to pay the said balance.

J. PRESTON,  
THOMAS SHIPLEY.

*10th Month, 7th, 1825.*

*On motion*, The following are appointed the acting committee of this Convention, viz

*Rhode-Island*, Hector Coffin.

*New-York*, Israel Corse.

*Pennsylvania*, Jonas Preston, William Rawle, jr. Isaac Barton, Solomon Temple, Joseph W. Rowland, Thomas Shipley, E. P. Atlee, Thomas Earle, and C. Carmalt.

*Maryland*, Daniel Raymond.

*Tennessee*, Benjamin Lundy.

*On motion*, The Convention resolved into a committee of the whole, on the resolution of D. Raymond. Jonas Preston in the chair.

The committee rose, and reported the first resolution amended, so as to read thus:—

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Convention, the most practicable means of effecting the complete extinction of slavery in the United States, is by the passage of laws in the several States, fixing a day, after which all persons of colour, born in the respective States, shall be free at a certain age.

Also, the second resolution, as originally offered, on motion, the Convention adopted both resolutions. T. Earle proposed the following, which was adopted viz.

*Resolved*, That by the passage of the foregoing resolutions, this Convention does not intend to discourage perseverance in all other possible methods of promoting the emancipation of slaves, whether by individuals or by governments; but would, on the contrary encourage them, as called for by every principle of justice, humanity and sound policy.

Joseph W. Rowland proposed the following, which was also adopted, viz.

*Resolved*, That the acting committee be directed to have the foregoing resolutions inserted in as many of the Newspapers of the United States, as may be practicable.

The following report of the committee on the 1st Resolution of the Committee of Arrangement was accepted, viz.

The committee appointed to consider and report on the best means to obtain the Abolition of Slavery, in the District of Columbia,

*Report*, That the extinguishment of Slavery in the District of Columbia is an object which ought always to engage the attention of the Convention, until its accomplishment, and the exertions of the several societies ought unceasingly to be directed towards its attainment. The only plan which occurs to your committee, as proper to be adopted at the present time, is, that the Convention recommend by a circular address to each of the existing societies favourable to the Abolition of Slavery in the United States, that they use their utmost exertions to procure the election of such representatives in Congress, as will promote the passage of a bill by the National Government, to abolish Slavery in that District after a certain period.

D. RAYMOND, *Chairman*.

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The following resolution offered by S. Temple, was read and ordered to lie on the table, viz.

*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to prepare an address to each of the societies, favourable to the Abolition of Slavery in the United States, that they exert themselves to promote the election of such representatives in Congress, as will use their influence in procuring the passage of a law to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, at a certain period.

On motion, the Convention was resolved into a committee of the whole, to consider the unfinished business of this morning—J. Preston, in the chair.

The committee rising, reported that after again considering the subject, they had concluded to return it to the Convention.

*On motion*, it was indefinitely postponed ; as also, a modified resolution of Isaac Barton and T. Shipley.

*On motion*, adjourned to 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.



10th Month, 8, 1825, 10 o'clock, A. M.

Convention assembled.—Vice-President in the chair.

The committee on the 5th Resolution of the Committee of Arrangement, reported the following :

The committee appointed to propose such measures as are best calculated to extend education among the coloured population—

#### **REPORT:**

That they have given the subject some attention, but from the little time they have been able to devote thereto, they are not now prepared to recommend any measures in relation to it.

*Respectfully submitted on behalf of the committee.*

THOMAS SHIPLEY, *Chairman.*

Which was accepted, and they continued to report to the adjourned session to be held at Baltimore.

*On motion* of Joseph W. Rowland,

It was *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be respectfully presented to the Common Council of the City of Philadelphia, for the use of their chamber, during the present Session.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary be directed to transmit a

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copy of the above Resolution to the President of the Common Council.

The following resolution, also submitted by Joseph W. Rowland, was adopted, and Joseph W. Rowland, B. Lundy and Thomas Shipley appointed the committee, viz.

*Resolved*, That the subject of the transportation of slaves, from one State to another, and the reception of the testimony of slaves in courts of justice, *quantum valeat*, be referred to a special committee, who shall report at the adjourned meeting of the Convention.

*On motion*, The resolutions of T. Earle and I. Barton, submitted on the 5th instant, were referred to the next Session. The following report of the committee to examine the Constitution, was accepted, and the resolutions thereto attached, ordered to lie on the table.

*to the American Convention, for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c.*

The committee appointed to examine the Constitution of the Convention, and suggest such amendments as they may deem necessary, respectfully

**REPORT:**

That, in the opinion of your committee, it is expedient to adopt the following alteration and addition, viz.

1st, That the word *and* immediately succeeding the word *Secretaries*, in Article 3d, be stricken out, and the words "*and three Counsellors*" be inserted in the same Article, immediately succeeding the word *Treasurer*, and preceeding the word *who*.

2d, That the following constitute section 6th, Article 1st, viz.

Section 6th, The Counsellors shall be ex-officio members of the Convention, and entitled to participate in its deliberations. They shall, when requested so to do, give their opinion upon such legal subjects as may claim the attention of the Convention.

*On behalf of the Committee,*

I. BARTON.

*October 8th, 1825.*

The following resolution offered by J. W. Rowland, was ordered to lie on the table, viz.

*Resolved*, That the 2d Article of the Constitution be amended, by striking out the words "*in the City of Philadelphia*," and inserting the words "in such place as the Convention may determine," after the word '*October*.'—

The resolution of T. Earle was also ordered to lie on the table. On motion, the Convention concludes to rise, to sit again at Baltimore, on the 25th day of 10th month (Oct.) 1826.

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*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race.*

The Acting Committee appointed by the late Convention, respectfully

#### **REPORT:**

That soon after their appointment, they met, and the committee was organised. The different subjects entrusted to them by the Convention have been generally attended

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to, and disposed of in the manner detailed in their minutes. In conformity with their instructions, they have prepared a circular address to humane and intelligent individuals and societies, a copy of which accompanies their minutes, to which they have also attached a copy of memorials to some of the state Legislatures, in reference to slavery in the District of Columbia, prepared by a committee of the late Convention.

No subjects of a general nature, of sufficient importance to communicate here, have originated in the committee, or become objects of particular deliberation.

Although the committee is not prepared to report favourably upon the plan of emancipation referred to it, or to offer any other for your consideration, yet the subject generally has often engaged the attention of the members, and of a sub-committee specially charged with its investigation. They deem the speedy and entire emancipation of slaves in our country, a subject of the greatest importance, embracing the primary objects of the Convention, and involving consequences connected with the essential interest and the honour and happiness of the nation. They see that philanthropists in every section of our country and elsewhere, do not cease to give it their earnest attention, and that new light is daily elicited and new views are daily unfolded; and they cannot but hope, that the time is not very distant when we shall better understand a subject, invested at present with difficulties, either essentially connected with it, or arising out of the peculiar construction of government and society in the United States. They do not fear that the Convention will ever lose sight of this primary object, but they would express a hope that the general subject be re-examined at no very distant period. They have not entire confidence in any plan hitherto proposed, but as the subject has lately become much more extensively interesting, we may anticipate more enlightened and feasible expe-



dents for removing from our country one of her greatest enemies, and from the national escutcheon its foulest blot.

The instructions of the Convention to this committee to "investigate the state of slavery in the District of Columbia," were attended to, but in consequence of the indisposition and absence from the city of some members of the sub-committee, they are not prepared to make report.

The liberal offer of President Boyer to the coloured people of the United States, made since the session of the last Convention, was considered by the committee, but they were not disposed to commit the Convention by adopting any measures in relation to that subject.

Respectfully submitted,

By direction of the Committee,

ISAAC BARTON, *Secretary.*

*Philadelphia, October 3d. 1825.*

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*The memorial of the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race,*

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,

That it has long been a source of deep regret to a large portion of the citizens of the United States, as well as to the friends of human rights and liberty throughout the world, that domestic Slavery, with all its odious features, continues to be tolerated by the national government in the small territory over which the Constitution invests it with exclusive jurisdiction. Your Memorialists are convinced, that a strong simultaneous effort of those who hold this sentiment in different sections of our country, would imperiously engage the attention of Congress to this interesting subject; especially if that effort were sanctioned and directed by the au-

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thority of the different state legislatures. Impressed with this belief, we earnestly solicit your honourable body to use such means as your wisdom and the spirit of our admirable constitution will sanction, in order to remove this national reproach, and vindicate the purity and vigour of our republican institutions from the reproaches of their enemies.

We are only known to foreign states as one great nation, of which the Federal Government is the organ and representative; every state comprising the Union and all its inhabitants, are compelled to endure the *opprobrium*, however they may abhor the *guilt* of holding their fellow men in bondage. To permit the existence of slavery within the very sound of the voice of the orator and statesmen, while he is pleading the cause of *Liberty*, or uttering his boast of *American Independence* upon the floor of Congress, is a flagrant inconsistency, which, in the view of foreign nations, attaches equally to Massachusetts and Virginia! We entreat you, therefore, by your regard for justice and the rights of man—by your religion, and the welfare of our common country—by your respect for yourselves and for the honour of your constituents, not to suffer the present session to elapse, without a recorded vote, which shall be *your* witness to posterity, that, if the exclusive territory of the national government remains to be polluted by the footsteps of a slave, it is because *your* exertions in the cause of liberty have been unavailing.

Respectfully, but most earnestly, do your memorialists request your honourable body, seriously to consider this subject; and if it shall appear to you advisable, let your senators be requested, to bring the subject into the view of the Congress of the United States, enforced with the commanding weight of your recommendation to an early and profound enquiry into the expediency of the measure.

W. RAWLE, *President*.

*Philadelphia, March, 23, 1823.*

*Abolition Societies/898*

*The following is a Circular, prepared and issued by the Acting Committee of the Convention, and selected and ordered to be placed upon the Minutes of the Convention :*

**RESPECTED FRIENDS,**

In inviting our fellow citizens to join in the great cause of justice and humanity, it seems almost unnecessary to dwell upon the reasons which should influence their cordial co-operation. It would be an insult to their feelings and understanding, to suppose them unmindful of the rights of their fellow men, or indifferent to the honour of their country ; yet it may be well to direct their attention to some of the calamities inseparably connected with slavery, and to strive to awaken the exertions requisite to effect its abolition.

By the Law of Nature, all men are entitled to equal privileges, and, although the artificial distinctions of society may have abrogated it in practice, they are unable to justify the destruction of a right, which claims for the African that freedom which the express and implied will of the Almighty has declared to be inherent in every individual of the human race.

The barbarous policy which sanctified the introduction of slaves into this country, sacrificed the injunctions of Revelation to mercenary ambition, and for temporary interest bestowed a lasting disgrace upon posterity. Time and perseverance may eradicate the evil, which is increasing in importance, and which not only has brought obloquy upon our national character, but threatens to involve us in all the disastrous results of civil discord.

There is nothing in our Republic so deeply calculated to promote sectional jealousy as the existence of slavery. The conflicting policy of slave-holding and non-slave-holding states, will increase with its unhappy cause. We have already seen to what extent it may be carried, and it requires

no effort to imagine consequences, from future excitement, the most dangerous to our political existence. There is also much to be feared, in many States, from the physical superiority of the Black population. The innate principle which so strongly impels to the acquisition of liberty, is, in itself, sufficient to arouse the energies of the slave; but, when the consciousness of numerical power unites with the desire of vengeance, arising from long oppression, the influence of example only, can be wanting to enkindle the exterminating rapacity that usually attends successful insurrection.

One of the strongest reasons that should induce us to exert every power for the suppression of slavery, is the indelible disgrace it brings upon our country. A people, enjoying the utmost limit of rational liberty, who proudly claim the name and rights of freemen, tolerate in their very bosom the most unnatural and cruel bondage. This glaring inconsistency, in part, justifies the sacrifices which the advocates of arbitrary power are continually casting on the boasted liberality of our political institutions.

We are trying the great experiment, whether liberal Government is best calculated for the happiness of man, and its opposers seize with readiness the argument, that one portion of our population is dependent for its luxuries, and even for its existence on the abject servitude of another. The power of example is lessened, and patriotism turns with disgust from our practical application of that splendid theory, which declares that all men should be free and equal.

The voice of humanity is loud in its appeal for the emancipation of the human race. The connection between slavery and cruelty, which results from the rigid discipline necessary to exact unnatural obedience, is alone sufficient inducement to excite the attention of the Philanthropist. It is degrading to behold the image of God bending under

the brutality of imperious dictation, subject to the caprice of rude and ignorant authority, and liable to ignominious death for seeking that liberty which nature has declared to be equally due to all men.

Is the participation of natural right to be graduated by shades of complexion? Shall one man lead a life of thralldom, because his skin has darkened under a hotter sun? Shall he be the perpetual servant of his fellow man, because deficiency of intellectual power, naturally resulting from a want of education and opportunity, have given him less keenness of perception, disqualified him to stand forth the vindicator of the oppressed, to assert his rights, and demand redress for his injuries? No! We trust that there is a redeeming virtue in our fellow citizens, which will urge them to unite with us in abolishing Domestic Slavery. We invite them, because we believe it to be contradictory to the Law of Nature—in violation of the commands of Christianity—hostile to our political union—dangerous to a portion of our white population—inconsistent with our professed love of liberty—degrading to our national character—and in opposition to the feelings of humanity. Then let not this appalling injustice bring down the wrath of offended Heaven on our country—join with us in the endeavour to benefit mankind, and be determined that your zeal shall not waver, nor your exertions diminish, while a single spot in our land is polluted by a slave.

We respectfully invite a correspondence on the subject of this address, and the communication of such facts as may, from time to time, come to your knowledge.

By order of the Acting Committee of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and Improving the condition of the African Race.

OTIS AMMIDON, *Chairman.*

ISAAC BARTON, *Secretary.*

*Philadelphia, March 22d, 1825.*

*Nineteenth Convention/901*

# MINUTES

OF AN

**ADJOURNED SESSION**

OF THE

## AMERICAN CONVENTION

FOR PROMOTING THE

**ABOLITION OF SLAVERY,**

AND IMPROVING

THE CONDITION OF THE AFRICAN RACE,

CONVENED AT BALTIMORE,

On the twenty-fifth of October, 1826.

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Baltimore :

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE CONVENTION,

Benjamin Lundy, printer.

.....

1826

*Adjourned Session/903*



## MINUTES.

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At an Adjourned Meeting of the "American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c.," held in the city of Baltimore, October 25th, 1826: The President being absent, the Vice-President, Daniel Raymond, Esq. took the *Chair*.—Edwin P. AtLee, *Secretary*.

From communications, received from the Manumission Society of New-York, the Convention of Abolition Societies of Western Pennsylvania, and the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland, together with the minutes of the last Session of the Convention, it appears that the following gentlemen have been appointed to represent the undernamed societies in this Convention—viz,

### *Rhode-Island.*

Hector Coffin.

### *New-York Manumission Society.*

William L. Stone,  
James Palmer,  
Joshua Underhill.

Theodore Dwight,  
Aaron Leggett,

### *Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery.*

John Sergeant,  
Jonas Preston,  
Wm. Rawle, Jr.  
Isaac Barton,  
Thomas Shipley.

Solomon Temple,  
E. P. AtLee,  
Thos. Earle,  
Caleb Carmalt,

### *Maryland Anti-Slavery Society.*

Daniel Raymond,  
William Kesley,  
John Allen,  
Jno. S. Reese,  
David Harryman,

Tristram Bowdler,  
I. N. Hoopes,  
J. H. Warfield,  
Frederick Stier,  
M. C. Price.



*Western Pennsylvania Abolition Society.*

Solomon Phillips,

Jesse Kenworthy.

*Manumission Society of Tennessee.*

Benjamin Lundy.

The roll being called, the following Delegates were present, viz.

Wm. L. Stone,

Wm. Kesley,

James Palmer,

Jno. Allen,

Isaac Barton,

D. Harryman,

Thos. Earle,

I. N. Hoopes,

Solomon Temple,

Solomon Phillips,

E. P. AtLee,

Jesse Kenworthy,

D. Raymond,

B. Lundy.

Communications, from the Abolition Society of Monroe county, Ohio; from the Moral, Religious, Manumission Society of West Tennessee; from a Society at Andover, and one from William's College, Massachusetts, were also received.

The following members were appointed a Committee of Arrangement and unfinished business—viz. T. Earle, W. L. Stone, B. Lundy, J. Kenworthy, and D. Harryman.

Adjourned, to meet at 7 o'clock, P. M.

October, 25th, 7 o'clock, P. M.

Convention met.—*Present,*

W. L. Stone,

D. Harryman,

J. Palmer,

J. S. Reese,

I. Barton,

I. N. Hoopes,

S. Temple,

Jno. Allen,

T. Earle,

T. Bowdle,

E. P. AtLee,

B. Lundy,

D. Raymond,

S. Phillips,

W. Kesley,

J. Kenworthy.

Communications were received from the Manumission and Emigration Society of Loudon, Virginia, and from the Manumission Society of North Carolina, by which it appears that David Smith, Daniel Janney, B. F. Taylor, and Wm. Holme are delegated to represent the former, and Benjamin Swaim the latter, in this Convention:—of whom, D. Smith, D. Janney, and B. Swaim, appeared and took their seats.

The Communications from the Societies of New York, North Carolina, Tennessee, Williams College, and Andover, Massachusetts, were now read.

The following resolution, presented by Wm. Kesley, was, on motion, referred to the Committee of Arrangement:

*Resolved*, That this Convention recommend to the friends of emancipation, generally, and to each of the Anti-Slavery and Abolition Societies, represented here, in particular, to prepare and forward petitions to Congress, praying that body to take immediate and effectual measures for the final abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

On motion, Adjourned to 10 o'clock, to-morrow morning.

*October 26th, 10 o'clock, A. M.*

Convention met.—*Present*,

W. L. Stone,

J. Palmer,

I. Barton,

S. Temple,

T. Earle,

E. P. AtLee,

D. Raymond,

W. Kesley,

B. Swaim.

J. S. Reese,

J. Allen,

I. N. Hoopes,

S. Phillips,

J. Kerworthy,

D. Smith,

D. Janney,

B. Lundy,

Addresses from the Delaware Abolition, and Maryland Anti-Slavery Societies, were received; which, together with the address previously received from Ohio, were now read.

Jos. G. Rowland, B. Ferris, and William Gibbons, took their seats as Delegates from the Delaware Society.

Jos. G. Rowland, Wm. Kesley, S. Temple, B. Swaim, and D. Janney, were appointed a Committee to examine the communications received from the several societies in different parts of the Union, and report what portion of them ought to be published, together with such observations on the remainder, as they may deem expedient.

The following resolutions were offered by W. L. Stone, read, and referred to the Committee of Arrangement—viz.

Whereas it is represented, by the great body of the owners of

slaves, that slavery is "a great evil, and its continuance and increase fraught with many and appalling dangers: and whereas, the friends of emancipation are frequently called upon, by the proprietors of slaves, to devise some adequate means to rid the country, by a safe and gradual process, of a population, whose continuance among us is so unnatural, and whose rapid multiplication is so alarming: and whereas, some of the free Northern States have assisted, in former times, to entail this curse upon our land, by countenancing slavery themselves, and allowing their citizens to participate in the African Slave Trade: and whereas, the safety, perpetuity, and happiness of any one portion of these United States is alike dear to *all*. and whereas, in the opinion of this Convention, it is expedient for the Nation to put forth its strength in a concentrated effort to free itself from so great a curse, without a forcible interference with the rights of property, sanctioned by the Constitution: Therefore,

1. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Congress of the United States, to provide, without delay, for the gradual, but certain, extinguishment of slavery, and the transportation of the whole coloured population, now held in bondage, to the coast of Africa, or the island of St. Domingo, if such an arrangement can be made.

2. *Resolved*, That for the accomplishment of this purpose, upon principles of equity towards those who hold this species of property, the Congress of the United States be requested to create a fund of 3,000,000 of dollars, per annum, to be applied to the purchase and transportation of Slaves, pursuant to the foregoing resolution, until our soil shall no longer be polluted by the foot of a slave:—provided, that the slaves so to be purchased, shall consist, as nearly as possible, of an equal number of both sexes, between the ages of 16 and 45

3. *Resolved*, That, as a portion of the fund so to be created, this Convention most cordially approves of the proposition, heretofore submitted to Congress, to appropriate the public lands for that purpose.

4. *Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States be requested to commence the great work of emancipation, by immediately abolishing slavery within the District of Columbia, and

causing the persons, set at liberty, to be transported, either to Hayti, or the western coast of Africa, as they may prefer.

5. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Congress of the United States to prohibit, by law, the rending asunder of the family ties of slaves, by the separation of husbands from their wives, and wives from their husbands, and of children from their parents, (while under the age of      years,) by sales of parts of families into distant states or countries.

6. *Resolved*, That it be recommended by the Convention, to the Legislatures of the several slave-holding states, or any of them, where the marriage of slaves is not authorized or regulated by law, to provide for such marriages, guard their conjugal rights, and enforce their conjugal duties, by laws, corresponding with those which govern the whites in all civilized and Christian countries.

7. *Resolved*, That this Convention address a respectful memorial to Congress, embracing the several subjects referred to in the preceding resolutions; and also to the Legislatures of the several States, requesting their aid and co-operation in the measures here proposed.

Whereas, in the opinion of this Convention, as a general rule, *ignorance* and *vice* are inseparable companions, and the best way to make good servants, is to enlighten their understandings, and improve their hearts, by wholesome moral and religious instruction: and whereas, it is admitted, on all hands, that, sooner or later, the work of emancipation must be undertaken, and prosecuted to its completion; Therefore, and in order that the slaves may be better fitted to appreciate and enjoy the blessings of freedom,—

8. *Resolved*, That it be recommended by this Convention, to the Legislatures of the several States where personal slavery exists, to repeal all Laws in any manner prohibiting the moral and religious instruction of Slaves.

9. *Resolved*, That the proprietors of slaves in the United States be respectfully requested, by this Convention, to encourage, by all possible means, the instruction of their slaves in reading: and the rudiments of a common English education and the

leading doctrines of Christianity, by Sunday Schools, and such other means as may be within their power.

On motion, Wm. Gibbons, was added to the Committee of Arrangement, &c.

Adjourned, to 6½ o'clock, P. M.

October 26<sup>th</sup>,

Convention met at 6½ o'clock, P. M.—*Present*,

W. L. Stone,	I. N. Hoopes,
J. Palmer,	D. Smith,
I. Barton,	D. Janney,
T. Earle,	S. Phillips,
S. Temple,	J. Kenworthy,
E. P. AtLee,	B. Lundy,
W. Kesley,	B. Swain,
D. Raymond,	J. G. Rowland,
D. Harryman,	W. Gibbons,
T. Bowdle,	B. Ferris,
J. S. Reese.	

The minutes of the Acting Committee of the Convention, for the past year, were read and approved.

The Committee of Arrangement and unfinished business, made the following

### REPORT:

The Committee of Arrangement and unfinished business, report the ensuing items of business, offered or commenced at last session, and not completed,—

1. The following resolutions, offered by T. Earle:

1. *Resolved*, That this Convention cordially approves of the proposition to appropriate the public lands of the United States to the Abolition of Slavery, and to the transportation of the emancipated persons of color to such countries as they may choose for their residence.

2. *Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to draft a memorial to Congress, expressive of the sentiments contained in the foregoing resolution.

3. *Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to draft a me-

memorial to Congress, praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

II. The following resolutions, offered by Isaac Barton:

1. *Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Convention, it is now incumbent upon the friends of the Abolition of slavery in the United States to give a decided preference to the products of Free Labor:—

2. And that it is expedient that a moderate premium be offered on the articles of Sugar, Cotton, Rice, and Tobacco, which are accompanied by satisfactory evidence that they are the products of the labor of Freemen.

III. The following resolution, offered by S. Temple, in pursuance of the report of a Committee, of which D. Raymond was chairman, published in page 26 of the minutes of last session:

*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to prepare an address to each of the Societies, favorable to the abolition of slavery in the United States, that they exert themselves to promote the election of such representatives to Congress, as will use their influence in procuring the passage of a law, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, at a certain period.

IV. The following amendments to the Constitution, proposed by a committee, of which I. Barton was chairman:

1. That the word *and*, immediately succeeding the word *Secretaries*, in Article 3d, be stricken out, and the words *and three Counsellors*, be inserted in the same Article, immediately succeeding the word *Treasurer*, and preceding the word *who*.

2. That the following constitute Section 6th, Art. 1st, viz.

Section 6th. The Counsellors shall be *ex-officio* members of the Convention, and entitled to participate in its deliberations. They shall, when requested so to do, give their opinion upon such legal subjects as may claim the attention of the Convention.

V. The following resolution, offered by J. W. Rowland:

*Resolved*, That the 2d Article of the Constitution be amended by striking out the words, "*in the city of Philadelphia,*" and inserting the words, *in such place as the Convention may determine*, after the word "*October.*"

VI. It is the duty of a Committee, consisting of Jos. W. Row-

and, B. Lundy, and T. Shipley, to report on the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the subject of the transportation of slaves, from one state to another, and the reception of the testimony of slaves in courts of justice, *quantum valeat*, be referred to a special committee, who shall report at the adjourned meeting of the Convention.

VII. It is the duty of a Committee, consisting of C. Carmalt, H. Coffin, and T. Shipley, to report on the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to propose such measures as are best calculated to extend education among the colored population.

The Committee recommend that the Convention first take up for consideration, the unfinished business, in the order in which it is above exhibited: and that it next consider the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the several Manumission, Anti-Slavery, and Abolition Societies of the United States, to use their influence with the several State Legislatures, for procuring the passage of laws, which shall prohibit the separation of the families of slaves, by sales of parts of them to distant states or countries.

2. Regulate the marriage contracts of slaves, and guard and enforce their conjugal rights and duties.

3. And abolish all legal restrictions upon the instruction of the African race.

II. *Resolved*, That this Convention recommend to the friends of emancipation, generally, and to each of the Anti-Slavery and Abolition Societies, represented here, in particular, to prepare and forward petitions to Congress, praying that body to take immediate and effectual measures for the final Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

III. *Resolved*, That this Convention recommend to the members of the several Abolition and Manumission Societies, that they use their exertions for promoting the formation of similar societies in their respective states or vicinities,

The resolutions, contained in this report, include nearly all the principles embraced in those offered by Messrs. Stone and Kesley, and referred to the Committee. The Committee did not think fit to report the resolutions of those gentlemen, in full, as to do so would be to report propositions already before the Convention.

On motion, the Convention went into Committee of the Whole, to consider the foregoing report—D. Harryman in the Chair.

The Committee of the Whole rose, reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again.

Adjourned to 9 o'clock, to-morrow morning.

October 27th.

The Convention met at 9 o'clock, A. M.—*Present*,

W. L. Stone,	B. Lundy.
J. Palmer,	D. Harryman,
I. Barton,	J. S. Reese,
S. Temple,	W. Kesley,
T. Earle,	S. Phillips,
E. P. AtLee,	J. Kenworthy,
J. G. Rowland,	D. Smith,
B. Ferris,	D. Janney,
W. Gibbons,	B. Swaim,
D. Raymond,	

A Committee, consisting of B. Ferris, W. Kesley, W. L. Stone, and S. Phillips, was appointed to prepare an Address to the several Manumission, Abolition, and Anti-Slavery Societies in the United States.

The Convention then went into Committee of the Whole, on the report of the Committee of Arrangement, &c.—D. Harryman, in the Chair.

The Committee of the Whole rose, made report in part, and obtained leave to sit again.

The Convention concurred with the Committee of the Whole, in adopting the following resolution, offered by T. Earle, at the last session, viz.—

*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to draft a memorial to Congress, praying the abolition of slavery in the District



of Columbia.—Whereupon, Wm. Gibbons, T. Earle, and J. S. Reese, were appointed to compose said Committee.

Adjourned to 3 o'clock, this afternoon.

*October 27th. 3 o'clock, P. M.*

Convention met.—*Present*, Palmer, Barton, Temple, AtLee, Earle, Raymond, Reese, Smith, Janney, Phillips, Kenworthy, Gibbons, Rowland, Ferris, Swaim, Lundy, Kesley.

The following preamble and resolution, offered by I. Barton, was adopted—viz.

Whereas, This Convention has been informed that a Digest of the existing Laws, of the several states, relating to Slaves and people of Color, will shortly be published in the City of Philadelphia: Therefore,

*Resolved*, That the Acting Committee be directed to subscribe for ten Copies of the said Digest, for the use of this Convention.

The Convention then went into Committee of the whole on the report of the Committee of Arrangement &c.—S. Temple in the Chair.

The Committee having risen, reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again.

Adjourned to meet to-morrow at eleven o'clock, A. M.

*Oct. 28th 11 o'clock A. M.*

Convention met.—*Present*, Stone, Barton, Earle, Temple, AtLee Ferris, Gibbons, Rowland, Raymond, Kesley, Reese, Janney Kenworthy, Phillips, Swaim, Lundy.

The Committee to Examine the several Addresses &c. reported as follows:—

The Committee to whom was referred the examination of the several addresses, presented to the Convention, agree to

**REPORT**, That they have carefully examined all the Communications referred to them, and recommend to the Convention the publication of the following, in which they have made some alterations.

The Addresses from the New York Manumission Society, Western Pennsylvania Abolition Society, Massachusetts Societies of Williams College and Andover, Delaware Abolition So-

ty, Maryland Anti-Slavery Society, North Carolina Manumission Society, Virginia Manumission and Emigration Society.

As to the Addresses from Ohio, and Tennessee, the Committee recommend a reference of them to the Acting Committee of the Convention, to make such extracts from them as may appear expedient.

J. G. ROWLAND, *Chairman.*

The foregoing report being adopted, the following are the addresses recommended to be published.

### COMMUNICATION FROM NEW YORK.

To the "American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race," to meet in Baltimore, by adjournment of its Nineteenth Session, on the 25th day of October, 1826:

Being informed by the printed minutes of the last meeting of the American Convention, and also by a late communication from their Acting Committee, that a meeting of that body is appointed to be held by adjournment in Baltimore, on the 25th instant. The New York Manumission Society, at a special meeting convened for the purpose, *resolved*, that it is expedient to send Delegates, by whom this Society may be represented in the Convention. And for this purpose William L. Stone, James Palmer, Theodore Dwight, Joshua Underhill, and Aaron Leggett, were duly appointed,

Believing that the Convention itself would best be able to judge what subjects might most properly engage its attention, the Society conclude, that a formal Address was not requisite on the present occasion; and directed the Secretary to make such extracts from the minutes, as it might be proper to communicate. Agreeably to this direction the following are subjoined.

### EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE NEW YORK MANUMISSION SOCIETY.

Information being received that James Crosby, a free colored person from this city, has been for the last ten months, confined in the Jail of Petersburg, in the State of Virginia, as a runaway slave; and that documents sufficient to prove his freedom were presented to the authorities of the said place, who thereupon ordered his release; and that the said James Crosby is still held in

confinement, in consequence of a demand of the Jailor, for sundry expences said to have been incurred during his imprisonment, (in amount from 80 to 100 dollars,) the Society therefore adopted the following resolutions:—

1. *Resolved*, That the Standing Committee be requested to examine the circumstances of the case, and if the facts are found to be as stated, to take immediate measures, with the advice and assistance of counsel, to obtain a hearing before the proper authorities, and procure the release of the said James Crosby, if practicable, without regard to the demands of the Jailor.

2. *Resolved*, That if, in the opinion of the Committee, the said case is an eligible one, they are instructed to bring about a prosecution, on the ground of illegal confinement, with a view of obtaining a decision before the Supreme Court of the United States, testing the constitutionality of the law by which the said Crosby is confined.

3. *Resolved*, That Robert C. Cornell, Joseph Corlies, Thomas Leggett, Jr. Thomas Hale, and Israel Corse, be a Committee to provide the necessary funds for the prosecution of this business.

Agreeably to the request of the Convention, which gave rise to the practice, we present a list of our officers for the current year.

Cadwallader D. Colden, *President*.

George Newbold, *1st Vice-President*.

Peter Augustus Jay, *2d Vice-President*.

Goold Brown, *Secretary*.

Thomas P. Bowne, *Assistant Secretary*.

Robert C. Cornell, *Treasurer*.

Joseph Corlies, *Register*.

Barney Corse, Chairman, } *of the Standing Committee*.

Eli Vail, Secretary,

Michael M. Titus, Chairman, } *of the Board of Trustees*

Joseph W. Corlies, Secretary, }

Dr. John Stearns, Chairman, } *of the Committee of*  
 ——— Secretary, } *Correspondence.*

Joseph Corlies, Chairman, } *of the Committee of*

William C. White, Secretary, } *Ways and Means.*

#### COUNSELLORS.

G. D. Colden,

William Johnson,

Benjamin Clark,  
 Peter A. Jay,  
 William Slossen,

Thomas A. Emmett,  
 Isaac M. Ely,  
 Ira Clisbe.

Signed by direction and on behalf of a meeting of the New-York Manumission Society, held 10th month, (October,) 5th, 1826,

**CADWALLADER D. COLDEN, President.**

**GOULD BROWN, Secretary.**

*Washington, Pennsylvania, June 26, 1826.*

At a meeting of the Delegates, appointed by several Abolition Societies. formed in Washington and Fayette counties Pennsylvania, and convened at Washington, the following persons were present. viz.—

*From the Western Abolition Society,* { Jesse Kenworthy,  
 Charles Wheeler.

*Centreville Abolition Society,* William Mc. Girr.

*Western Manumission Society,* { William Baldwin,  
 William Griffith.

*Brownsville Abolition Society,* Robert Mc. Clure.

Jesse Kenworthy was appointed Chairman, and Charles Wheeler Secretary.

1. *Resolved,* That the delegates, now present, reccommend to the several societies here represented, and others which may be hereafter formed, to appoint Delegates authorized to establish an annual Association for the Western District of Pennsylvania,

2. *Resolved,* That the next meeting be held in Washington, on the 1st. Tuesday in June 1827, at 11 o'clock A. M. and that the Secretary be required to furnish the delegates of each Society with a copy of this resolution.

3. *Resolved,* That we appoint Jesse Kenworthy and Solomon Phillips, (or either of them,) to attend at the next meeting at Baltimore, of the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery &c.—And they are instructed to request the opinion of the Convention on the propriety of petitioning the proper authority. to prohibit the Internal Slave-Trade. The delegates

will likewise inform the Convention of the present standing, and prospects of the Abolition Societies in the western part of Pennsylvania.

4 *Resolved*, That Charles Wheeler be appointed to deliver an address at the next annual meeting.

Signed by order of the Convention of Delegates of the Abolition Societies of western Pennsylvania.

CHARLES WHEELER, *Secretary*.

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At a Meeting of the Manumission and Emigration Society of Loudoun, Virginia, held the 25th of the 8th Month 1826, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted, viz —

Whereas it has been made known to this Society, that an adjourned meeting of the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery, will be convened at Baltimore on the 25th of October next, to be composed of Delegates from the various Societies for the Abolition of slavery in the United States; and as this Society has been invited to send Delegates thereto; Be it therefore

*Resolved*, by the Manumission and Emigration Society of Loudoun, that it is expedient for this Society to be represented therein.

*Resolved*, That four Delegates be appointed to attend the meeting of said Convention.

*Resolved*, That David Smith, Benjamin F. Taylor, Daniel Janney, and William Holmes, be appointed as delegates, in pursuance of the foregoing resolutions; and the Secretary is directed to furnish the said delegates with a copy of the preceding preamble and resolutions, signed by the President, and attested by the Secretary.

YARDLEY TAYLOR, *President*,

HENRY S. TAYLOR, *Secretary*.

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To "the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of slavery, and improving the condition of the African race," to be held at Baltimore.

The Delaware Society for promoting the abolition of slavery,

&c. not having been represented in the last Convention held in Philadelphia, for reasons already assigned to your Acting Committee, are anxious on the present occasion, to make known to you, the deep interest which we continue to cherish for the advancement and ultimate success of a cause, not only common to all abolitionists, but to every consistent philanthropist, christian and statesman throughout the world: and we take this opportunity to express our heartfelt satisfaction, and the lively encouragement afforded us, at witnessing the zeal of many of these throughout our country and elsewhere, in pleading the cause of an injured people, who continue to be deprived of their inherent rights by the boasted friends of freedom!

But, in thus adverting to the glaring inconsistency which results from the unnatural and forced amalgamation of slavery with republicanism, let us ask ourselves the question, whether we whilst purchasing and using the products of the slave's labour, do not thus render ourselves fair objects for the apostolic rebuke—"Wherein thou judgest another thou condemnest thyself." The power of habit and strength of appetite triumph over the dictates of reason, and our wavering resolutions; hence to abstain is found to be, generally, impracticable. But shall we continue thus to strengthen the fetters of the slave, to sharpen the goad, and nerve the arm of a cruel despotism? Forbid it humanity! To remove this painful discrepancy, there is still one resource left us;—to encourage, by every means in our power, the production of sugar, tobacco, rice, and cotton, by the hands of FREEMEN; and we recommend it to the Convention to take such measures herein, as may promote this object.

Amongst the subjects likely to engage the consideration of the Convention, that of pressing upon the National Legislature the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, is one deeply interesting to us. A great European power deemed highly despotic, has recently decreed that the moment a negro slave sets his foot on Austrian ground, or on board a vessel of that nation, HE SHALL BE FREE; and can our Government continue to cherish, in its very bosom, the highest and most cruel despotism that the world has ever known, without becoming a by-word and a reproach with all the nations of the earth?

The diffusion of instruction among the rising generation of the descendants of Africa, is also a subject the high importance of which we feel in common with yourselves. In addition to the school heretofore reported, another has been established in this place through the laudable exertions of the colored people themselves. This school like the former is conducted by one of their own colour. Both furnish ample testimony to the capacity of this people for literary acquirements, and of their being born to the same high destiny, with their white brethren. Let us continue our exertions to multiply living evidences of these great truths, keeping in view that whilst we are thus engaged to elevate the African from that debasement into which oppression has thrown him, we are weakening his chains; and that in conveying instruction to his mind, we are imparting, at once, the knowledge to appreciate, the capacity to enjoy, and the ability to maintain a virtuous freedom. But whilst engaged in the promotion of this object, we ought not to forget that as we live under a government established and maintained by the voice of the people, and from which its essential character emanates, so the reform of all abuses must begin with the people, and hence that its progression rests on a conviction wrought in the minds of individuals, and that in part through the diffusion of light and knowledge among all classes of the community, on the particular subjects where reform is wanted.

Our society continues its exertions in favor of those illegally held in bondage. Several have been rescued since the last report, and a few cases still remain undecided. We have not relaxed our efforts with the Legislature of the state, for a law that shall fix a period, after which slavery shall cease to exist; and however unavailing our remonstrances hitherto, we are not without a hope of ultimate success. The subject of our application, having been left amongst the unfinished business of the house, will of course be called up again at the next meeting of the Legislature. The act passed by that body at its last session, at the instigation of a deputation from a neighboring state, in relation to fugitive slaves, cannot but be viewed by those at a distance as an ill omen to the success of our cause in this part of the union. We hope however, for the credit of our state, that this

fioul stigma, brought on us by the weakness of a few individuals, will soon be removed by the voice of the people.

We have appointed' as Delegates to attend the Convention, Joseph G. Rowland, Benjamin Ferris, Eli Hilles, Dr. William Gibbons.

Signed by order and on behalf of the Delaware Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery &c.

10 Mo. 16 1826.

JOHN WALES, *President.*

SAMUEL HILLES, *secretary.*

*Williams College, August 28. 1826.*

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 24th ultimo, addressed to President Dewey, has been received, and laid before the Society. We are sorry to inform you that, under existing circumstances, it will be impracticable for us to send delegates to the meeting of the American Convention, agreeable to the request made by the Acting Committee. We hope that our Society will be the only one not thus represented. If we do not feel interested in the abolition of slavery from what we see, we do from what we hear of it, and from what we learn of its concomitant evils. We consider it as in direct violation of the natural rights of man; inconsistent with the spirit of christianity, and the fundamental principles of our Government, and as fraught with incalculable evils; not only to the slaves, but to the country. Enjoying, ourselves, the rights and privileges of freemen, we cannot feel indifferent to the degraded condition of so great a portion of our species; deprived as they are of the blessings of religion and intellectual improvement, by the cruel hand of oppression, we feel deeply for them. With such views of slavery, we resolved to form a society, in order more fully to acquaint ourselves with its extent and evils; and also to obtain more general information respecting the efforts and exertions made in various parts of our country, to effect its entire abolition. It was our wish, not only to express our decided approbation of these efforts, but to co-operate in accomplishing so desirable an object, to the extent of

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our ability; a duty which we owe to God, to our country, and to the oppressed.

A meeting of the society was held on the 4th of July, and an address delivered, comporting with the sentiments embraced in the articles of the Constitution. Most of the students in college and some of the faculty are members of the society, whose influence and talents are exerted in its behalf. Whether any new measures can be adopted, that shall effect an immediate abolition of slavery, and if so, what measures would be most expedient and effectual, we are unable to say.—Were it to be abolished immediately in the Southern States, by acts of the several Legislatures, perhaps it would in some degree endanger the public peace and tranquillity in that section of the country. No such results, however, would be anticipated, should the American Colonization Society obtain means adequate to the transportation of the slaves to the colonies. The settlements in Africa, we understand are in a flourishing condition, and hold out sufficient inducement for free people of color in this country to emigrate thither. Notice has been given that a petition will be presented to Congress at their next session by the Colonization Society, imploring the aid and patronage of the United States' Government. The wealth and resources of our country are no doubt amply sufficient to defray the expenses necessary for the transportation of all the slaves, were they liberated. That they will be liberated immediately by law, perhaps it is more than reasonable to expect; yet we hope the time is not far distant, when this will be brought about.

A better spirit is beginning to be manifest among our Southern brethren: some of whom we rejoice to hear, have generously granted to the slaves in their possession their freedom. It is to be hoped that others will imitate their example, and that the people will continue to become more enlightened, and blessed to entertain more correct views in regard to slavery. A complete revolution will ere long be effected in the public mind. Manumission and Abolition Societies, we believe, have already done much towards awakening the citizens of our republic to a sense of duty. These efforts must be increased. The influence of all

must be enlisted.—More than Grecian and Roman eloquence must advocate the cause of the suffering sons of Africa—the press every week bears home its appeals to the bosom of the christian, the philanthropist and the psalmist, in language mild and gentle, yet as bold and resistless as the imperious mandate of God. You suggest also that we could communicate the state of slavery in this part of the country, and the views generally entertained in regard to it. You must be aware that there are no slaves in the New-England States, except a few in Connecticut, and Rhode Island. Our ancestors were for a time slave holders: the number of slaves however was never large, and they have all been since liberated. Although removed at some distance from the scenes of slavery, yet the people in this part of the country are not wholly indifferent to the evil. Living in a nation where it exists, and feeling it to be a national sin, as well as a national evil, they are anxious that this foul stain should be wiped from the annals of our country, and that the judgments of Heaven, which we so justly merit, and which the alarming extent of the evil seems to portend, may be averted. As they are becoming more informed and enlightened in regard to the rights of man, they are becoming more and more impressed with the truth that all men are born free and equal, and that to deprive them of the enjoyment of those rights, to which all are equally entitled by the laws of nature and of nature's God, is not only unjust, but highly derogatory to the character and dignity of any nation. It appears to be the conviction of people generally in this part of the country, that the time has arrived, when it is necessary to *feel* as well as speculate, and to *act* as well as feel, if we would put a stop to the inhuman traffic, which is now carried on by civilized nations, or if we would meliorate the condition of the suffering Africans. There is manifestly a spirit of increasing interest in regard to Colonization Societies. It is the general opinion, that it would be better for the free people of color themselves, as well as for the country, if they were conveyed to the colonies in Africa. Though efforts are made to improve the moral and intellectual condition of the few negroes among us, by affording the means of knowledge imparted in our daily and Sabbath schools; yet a greater proportion of them, compared

with the white population, are yearly returned as convicts in our penitentiaries. The expences for the imprisonment of these convicts exceed, yearly, what would be necessary to transport them to one of the colonies, where they might enjoy the advantages of religious and intellectual improvement, and at the same time subject them to such regulations, and instructions as would be better calculated to restrain them from the commission of vices than the laws of our country. In the state of New-York, there are few slaves. The prevailing sentiments in that state respecting slavery, are similar to those of the New England states. By an act of the Legislature, formed some time since, all slaves arrived at a certain age, are to be free—after the present year, and at no very distant period, it is probable this right will be extended to all.

Thus while the friends of humanity may have something to discourage them in their efforts to meliorate the condition of the slaves, and effect the entire abolition of slavery, they have much to give them encouragement. There is no doubt a better state of things in reserve for this wretched and degraded people. Providence appears to be pointing out the path of duty to us, as individuals, and as a nation. The question whether the negroes shall be free, is settled; for the Almighty will undertake their cause. What remains to be developed, is whether in the mysteriousness of His ways, he designs to visit our nation in wrath, and suffer the history of its ruin to be written by the blood of its citizens for the admonition of all succeeding ages.

Drawn up and forwarded, by the direction of the Acting Committee of the Society.

J. M. SADD, *Vice-President*.

F. W. HUBBARD, *Secretary*.

*Andover, Massachusetts, October 12th, 1826.*

MR. BARTON. Sir: I received your letter requesting the association, with which I am connected, to send a delegate to the Convention, to be assembled at Baltimore. The association felt much interest in your invitation—and as they believe that many

and great advantages may be gained by a free communication of views and feelings of men engaged in the same cause, they would rejoice to comply with your request, but their circumstances do not permit them. They have directed me to reply to your communication and to state their views and feelings on this subject, with such information as may be useful.

With respect to slavery itself, we, of course, have nothing of it amongst us; measures securing immediate, or gradual emancipation, having been adopted by all the New England States, during, or directly after, the war of the revolution. Our whole colored population amounts to from 15,000 to 20,000. These are found chiefly in the large towns of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. In this state, (Massachusetts,) and I believe in all the New England States, the laws make no distinction between them and white citizens, in point of civil and religious privileges. Good free schools are provided for them in nearly all the large towns, and our community, instead of treating them with that criminal neglect with which they have heretofore been treated, is beginning to be interested in their cause, and to make efforts to enlighten and elevate them.

Within the last four years, the people of New England have felt much additional interest in the condition and prospects of the colored population of the southern parts of our country. This has been occasioned by agents from the American Colonization Society, by addresses on this subject on the 4th of July, and discussions in the public papers. From the effects which causes like these *have produced*, it is evident that this interest may be increased to almost any extent, when these causes shall operate throughout our community, and with all that power with which they may be made to operate on the minds of men. We may, therefore, probably consider the great and immediate object to be aimed at, in order to secure effect in the cause of emancipation, to be, the presenting slavery before our countrymen in its true aspect, and fairly turning their minds towards it. On this account we regard, as peculiarly auspicious, that temperate discussion of the subject which is becoming more prevalent. We would not shrink from making plain and full representations of

the case as it is, but we think the truths stated, and the manner of stating them should be such, as shall be designed and adapted, not to make men angry, but to convince them, and excite them to active co-operation in this cause. The advocates of African emancipation, surely have enough of necessary difficulty, already existing to contend with, without arraying against themselves an angry opposition. Every thing should be kept within the limits of truth—nothing stated as *prevalent*, which is only of rare occurrence—nothing stated with anger and taunt. Yet we think the subject should be kept before the public mind constantly:—the wrongs which the Africans have suffered from the hands of our fathers; which they are now suffering from our hands; their being deprived of all the rights, which belong to them as men; the fact that slavery makes such a wide intellectual ruin—2,000,000 of minds which ought to be enlightened and active, are by it made to be ignorant and debased—lost to themselves and to the world—festered in their own pollution—2,000,000 immortal souls passing into eternity each generation—yet cut off by legislative acts from almost all the privileges and hopes of christianity.

We regard most favorably, also, the American Colonization Society—not because we think it grasps the subject with sufficient strength and boldness for us here at the north, but because it is exciting the sympathies of the people in behalf of the Africans, and showing what a free, civilized, and christian community of Africans is. We regard in the same way, emigration to Hayti, Miss Wright's institution in the west, and the Kosciuszko school; not because one or all of them can with their present resources, and in their present mode of operating, or with any resources or in any mode of operating, which they have immediately in prospect, accomplish the emancipation and proper settlement of all the Africans of our country, but because these plans for meliorating the condition of the Africans, as they are presented to the community, will call the attention of men to the general subject, awaken their sympathies, and get them accustomed to doing good to the Africans; and thus an additional number of minds will be enlisted in their cause; greater vigor will be given

to the present plans; new plans will be devised; new and greater efforts will be made to execute them; and thus the desired result will be wrought out. We feel, therefore, that, while the most efficient modes of operating should be sought after, and a proper discrimination made among those which have been proposed, yet none should be discouraged, or spoken lightly of.

We think great pains should be taken to make the people all over our country understand *what slavery is*—its bearing and influence on those who are held in bondage—its influence on the wealth, the political strength, the spirit of enterprise in the nation, on the individual prosperity, and the morals of the slaveholding states; so that as far as possible the statesman, the philanthropist, and the christian, may be interested in removing it. To accomplish this, concise, judicious *views of slavery, in particular districts*, might contribute much. *Small tracts* representing slavery in some of its particular aspects and bearings, supported by general and incontrovertible facts (indeed facts should be the great thing) might also help forward the cause, especially in those states where slavery does not exist. This is a method which our association has adopted, and intends to pursue.

Much, we suppose, might be said at the South, to develop the principles, and show the criminality of slavery. We suppose it could be shown to be just as absurd and abominable, to keep up, and soberly design to perpetuate, a state of society, where slavery, like our African slavery, is a part, as it would be to design and perpetuate a state of society, where murder and piracy were to be committed every day, and according to law. And we suppose it could be so exhibited, that all men of humanity and religious principle, would revolt just as much from placing themselves in a situation, where they must hold slaves as they are now held, as they would from placing themselves in a situation where they must commit murder or piracy. But in doing this it would be necessary to show plainly wherein the crime of slavery consists; not simply in the fact that our southern brethren have slaves in their possession, or that they do not turn them loose, ignorant & helpless on the community; but in their taking no prospective measures to meliorate their condition & fit them to enjoy freedom.

In order to place fairly before the eyes of the people of this country, an image of what slavery is, and to enable them to see the extent to which the rights of the Africans are outraged—we think it would contribute much, to publish a book exhibiting slavery as it *exists in law*, containing the slave codes in the several States. Also, (what would be a more delicate and difficult task,) exhibiting slavery as it *exists in fact*; how far these laws are gone into disuse, and how far they are evaded; how much protection they are designed to afford the slave, and how much they *do* actually afford. This would be a powerful method of operating on the minds of a *free* people, and at the same time, one that could not reasonably be objected to: for the people of the South could not reasonably object to having the contents of their statute books laid open, or to having a fair exposition made of the *real state* of their slaves.

We here, wish very much to know, what the creed of the Southern people, is on this subject and what are their expectations.—Do they wish and intend that *any thing* shall be done to meliorate the condition of their slaves?—Why will they not begin now?—Or do they expect and wish slavery to be *perpetual*?—Do they generally justify it, or bear it as an evil that cannot be remedied?

We, here, feel this to be a national subject—we feel that we have a *right*, and are bound, to be interested in it. And it would afford us great satisfaction to be present at your meeting—but after this expression of our feelings, we can only say—may Divine wisdom guide your deliberations, and may your efforts be followed by success.

In behalf of the Committee;

Most respectfully yours,

DAVID GREENE.

#### COMMUNICATION FROM MARYLAND.

*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race.*

Viewing, with much concern, the increasing and portentous evils resulting from the system of slavery in this Republic; and

feeling an anxious solicitude for the welfare of its citizens, and the perpetuity of its free institutions, the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland hails with pleasure the assemblage of delegates from kindred associations, to devise plans and propose measures for the termination of that system, and the consequent removal of those evils.

It is well known that the victims of this cruel and barbarous practice, are not only deprived of their Heaven-born rights, and reduced to a state of degradation and distress: but it has a positive and invariable tendency to waste the morals of the nation; diminish the virtue of its citizens; enervate and enfeeble it in every point of view; and cause the total ruin of its proudest monuments of Wisdom & Justice. In short, the very principles upon which the government of the United States is based, and the plan upon which its Laws are administered, are constantly violated—are continually undermined—are even subject to the most destructive pollution—while the corrupting influence of Slavery is suffered to operate against them.

It is but little more than a year since the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland took its rise and assumed a rank among the benevolent institutions of our country. Its views tho' principally directed to the extinction of slavery in this state, are not wholly confined to that subject. The total abolition of the slave-system throughout this growing and flourishing republic, is not only a consummation devoutly to be wished, but an object of diligent and ardent pursuit, by every one who has thoroughly embraced the Anti-Slavery cause. It requires no great stretch of ingenuity to prove, that if all are interested in the extinction of this national evil, all have a perfect right to give their counsel in the devising of plans for effecting the purpose in contemplation.

We conceive that much good may be effected by all local associations, in collecting and disseminating information on the various subjects connected with the system of Slavery. The people generally want light. A deliterious custom has spread her sevenfold mantle over the land.—Long habit and inveterate prejudice has woven a veil of almost impenetrable texture, that effectually



shuts out the rays of true knowledge from the mind, relative to the identical condition of the fetter'd African. A general apathy prevails, and the major part of our citizens are securely resting in *useful* quietude, while the thunders of impending danger, are becoming louder and louder. There are many ways in which the local societies might contribute towards the dissemination of knowledge, that would effect a change in the aspect of affairs to which we have alluded: but the immediate and principal objects of the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland, have been to investigate the state of slavery in this section of country; to call the attention of the people to the subject by means of addresses, verbal and written; to circulate publications devoted to the cause; and to promote the election of Candidates for the Legislature, favorable to the enactment of laws for the gradual, tho' certain abolition of slavery, in this state.

The measures of a general nature, which we feel the most desirous to recommend, are to memorialize and petition Congress and the State Legislatures on the subject of gradually emancipating the slaves; and placing them in situations to enjoy the rights and privileges to which they are entitled by nature and justice—to devise plans for the most effectual prevention of the internal slave trade, and kidnapping of free persons of color—to recommend experiments in producing the staple commodities of slave-holding countries by free labor, in order to show the relative advantages thereof, even in a pecuniary point of view—and to encourage the publication of such works as are calculated to subserve the great end and aim of these societies.

We consider the propositions of Messrs. King and Tucker in the Congress of the United States, to devote a portion of the wealth of the nation to the abolition of slavery &c. as extremely important, and deserving the attention and support of our statesmen and citizens generally. We also highly approve the measure proposed by Mr. Miner, in the House of Representatives of the United States, for the extinction of slavery in the District of Columbia, under the immediate control of the General Govern-

ment. It is, indeed, a matter of surprise that the district here alluded to, consecrated as it is to the use of the nation, a vast majority of whose citizens detest the very idea of oppression, has not only been suffered thus long to wear the badge of tyranny, but is actually made the grand emporium of a traffic in human flesh and blood, for which we can seldom find a parallel in the universe ! But it is impossible that this state of things shall last much longer. Slavery will soon be exterminated from the soil dedicated to freedom and justice, and on which is erected the sacred Fane of Republicanism. The galling fetter and the clanking chain cannot much longer pollute that hallowed spot.— And may we not hope that the extinction of slavery there, will be but the prelude to its speedy annihilation in the southern states, and consequently the whole of North America ? The fact is not to be disguised, that parties are now forming throughout the United States, which will be designated, respectively, as the advocates, or opponents, of Universal Emancipation. To this it must come, sooner or later. It will, in the nature of things, be impossible to prevent it. Arduous will be the strife of words, and sore the conflict of opinion, but the ballot-box must eventually decide in favor of reason, justice, and republican principle.

The number of slaves in this state, at present, may be estimated at about one hundred thousand. The free blacks amount to about fifty thousand.

The state and condition of the slaves in Maryland, is not to be considered so deplorable, perhaps, (in one sense of the word) as in some other parts of the United States.—Their treatment, generally, is said to be mild, in comparison with that experienced by those in more southern latitudes. Yet, we feel warranted in saying, that in no state in this confederacy are they more subject to the painful and distressing evils of family separation, and the grievous consequences resulting from it. Slave Labor with us is considered unprofitable; and the principal inducement to support the system of slavery, is the profits arising from the traffic in slaves. This appears the more odious and disgusting when

we reflect that the nation has most unequivocally set its seal of condemnation upon the practice of trading in human flesh and blood. How long this wicked traffic will be suffered to disgrace our country, it is not easy to foretell, but we have little hope of its being fairly interdicted, while slaves are held as chattel property. There are too many ways in which the most wholesome laws may be evaded, while interest, real or mistaken, operates as an inducement thereto. We consider, therefore, that the only effectual measure that can be devised for the abolition of this trade, is the emancipation of the slave population. And owing to the seemingly insurmountable prejudices existing among the white people against this unfortunate race, it will, probably, be good policy to encourage the removal of as many as may consent thereto, to foreign lands.

It is a fact, worthy of particular notice, that the advocates of slavery, in this part of the United States, are driven to the necessity of openly admitting the soundness of the doctrines advanced by their opponents. They have retired from the field of argument, as far as it relates to the abstract justice of the principle of Universal Emancipation.—But they start difficulties respecting the mode of proceeding, alleging that it will be extremely impolitic to emancipate the slaves, upon any other condition than that of their removal from this country: So far have they yielded in their admissions of late that many have said they would give up their slaves, provided they could be transported to some foreign place, without expense to them. There are a considerable number, no doubt, who are sincere in these professions; though some, we have reason to believe, have held forth the language for no other purpose than to rid themselves of the odium attached to the avowed advocates of slavery. But in either case the ground, upon which they have thus entrenched themselves, is now removed, and they must comply with their professions, or resort to some new expedient in order to sustain their reputation for candor and truth. We have the pleasure to state that, independent of the plan of the African Colonization Society, arrangements have been made for the removal of emancipated slaves

from the United States to the Republic of Hayti, without expence to the people of this country. Provision has also been made for their support when they may arrive in that island, until they shall be properly prepared to take care of themselves. An agency has been established in the city of Baltimore for the purpose of transporting thither such as are permitted to go; and we shall soon see whether those who hold their fellow creatures in bondage, will consent to part with them upon these terms or not.

It is extremely gratifying to look back a few years, and mark the advancement of the great and important work, which we have undertaken. The ball of political reformation has rolled onward, with astonishing velocity. Millions of the human race have been raised from the lowest degradation—have been enfranchised, and invested with the rights pertaining to human dignity. How consoling are these reflections to the bosom of philanthropy!—how cheering to the heart of patriotism!—how encouraging to the laborers in this holy cause! Let then each one press forward with renewed zeal—with firm, unwavering step—and the most glorious success will, ere long, crown their noble and virtuous deeds.

The Anti-Slavery society of Maryland consists, at present, of five branches. The number of its members is about 240. The different branches are represented in a convention of delegates, which holds its meetings regularly in the city of Baltimore. The names of the officers of this convention, for the present year, are as follows:

John S. Reese, *President.*

Frederick Stier, *Vice-President.*

Isaac N. Hoopes, *Recording Secretary.*

B. Lundy, *Corresponding Secretary,*

John Needles, *Treasurer.*

Signed by order of the Maryland Convention.

J. S. REESE, *President,*

ISAAC N. HOOPES, *Secretary,*

## COMMUNICATION FROM N. CAROLINA

To the "American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race," to be assembled in the City of Baltimore, on the 25th of October, 1826.

The Manumission Society of N. Carolina return their sincere acknowledgements, for the public invitation they have received to be represented in the Convention. At the present time, when public attention is more than ordinarily excited to the evil of slavery, it is highly important that all the friends of emancipation should co-operate; that their energies should be concentrated; and their measures directed by the counsels of successful experience. We, therefore, duly appreciate the advantages that would doubtless result from our being represented in the approaching session of the Convention, and deeply regret the existence of circumstances, which render the attendance of Delegates necessary, at this time, impracticable,

As the best and only substitute in our power, we forward a written communication, in which we have given a concise account of the condition of Slavery, as it exists in this State, with the views of the Society relative to its entire abolition.

A VIEW OF THE CONDITION OF SLAVERY AS IT EXISTS IN N. C.

### *I. Of the Increase of Slaves,*

The number of slaves in N. C. which at the taking of the last census was so great, and bore so large a proportion to the whole population of the State, is rapidly increasing, depending mostly on births, there being but few introduced from other states. There are not many slaves removed from N. C. except by emigrants.

### *II. Of the Value of Slaves.*

A family of slaves, consisting of women, children, & superannuated, as well as able bodied labourers, humanely treated, will barely support themselves. A select number of slaves, in which there is a large proportion of laboring men, if economically managed, may be profitable. It is however evident, that the value of slaves is greatly depreciated, owing not only to the low prices of produce, but also to the exhausted state of the soil.

### III. *Of the effect which the slave-holding system has in impoverishing the soil.*

The proprietor of a number of slaves in Carolina, willing to avoid the constant sight of degraded humanity, intent on the pursuit of recreation, or plunged into dissipation and debauchery, generally confines his slaves to the care of an overseer. This overseer is generally dependant for his remuneration on a portion of the produce he may raise. Regardless of the future condition of a farm in which he has no permanent interest, his object is only to make it yield the most he can for the present, and so thoughtless are the proprietors as to applaud and encourage this mode of culture, as most conducive to their own interests. No system of improvement being adopted, the soil constantly run, is soon exhausted. Now the work of improvement requires a degree of reflection & economy, for which the overseer is incompetent, & the proprietor has no taste; but the clearing of land requires little more than the labour of the slaves. More land therefore is cleared, cultivated as above stated, & impoverished. The consequence is, that many portions of the state, originally the most fertile, are now become sterile wastes. To the effect which this state of things has on the condition of the unhappy slaves, we may again have occasion to advert.

### IV. *Of the Treatment of Slaves.*

The condition of Slaves is more or less wretched according to the number thrown together in a given tract of territory. In the eastern parts of the state, the slaves considerably out-number the free population. Their situation is there wretched beyond description. Impoverished by the mismanagement which we have already attempted to describe, the master, unable to support his own grandeur & maintain his slaves, puts the unfortunate wretches upon short allowances, scarcely sufficient for their sustenance, so that a great part of them go half naked & half starved much of their time. In the middle and western part of the state, where the slaves are less numerous, and rural economy less perverted by slavery, their treatment is some better: indeed, it is true, that, in every part of the State, there are

slaveholders who treat their slaves with all possible humanity—or rather, as much humanity as is consistent with their continuance in a state of slavery. But generally, throughout the State, the African is an abused, a monstrously outraged creature. No where does he enjoy those stimuli to good & great actions, which render a man emulous of character, and without which, no one ever thought of raising himself to respectability.

#### V. *Of the Slave Law.*

Perhaps we can in no way exhibit a more correct view of the state of slavery among us, than by distinctly noticing a few of the most prominent features of the slave-law.

1st. The law requires that slaves shall be fed on an allowance of “at least a quart of corn a day.”

2nd. Marriage between slaves is totally unknown to the law. The negroes, however, have formed for themselves a sort of nuptial ceremony, which seems to answer the purpose tolerably well, so long as they are permitted to live together. But wives & husbands, children and parents, may be separated at the pleasure of the owner, the law imposing no sort of restraint in that respect.

3rd. The law takes no notice of Fornication, Adultery, Incest, Polygamy, &c. among slaves. The sensual appetite is left to be gratified by promiscuous indulgence, without any restraint, except what the negroes voluntarily impose on themselves.

4th. The law affords no protection to the chastity of the coloured female, whether married or single.

5th. A person of mixed blood, to the third generation, can in no case, become a witness against a white person.

6th. The slave is protected in none of the rights of private property. So particular is the law in this respect, that if a slave be permitted by his master to raise for himself, or claim live stock of any kind, such stock is liable to be seized and sold to public uses.

7th. If the master permit his slave to hire his own time, such slave may be taken up as a runaway, and, if the master do not interfere, he may be sold for the use of the state.

8th. If a slave, of any description, be found from home, without a written permit, he is liable to be whipped by any Constable, or Patroller, or even by a private person, finding him on his own ground.

9th. No slave can be liberated, except for "meritorious services, to be judged of and allowed by the Court." The master is not permitted to judge the merits, of his services.

10th. There is no law of the State, co-operating with the laws of Congress, to prevent the foreign slave trade. Nor is there any law to prevent the introduction of slaves from other slave States.

To these brief captions, we might add many more, equally oppressive; but it is unnecessary. The foregoing view may serve as a correct specimen of the slave system now in full force in N. C. so far, at least, as it is maintained by the *strict letter* of positive and established law: nor is the general practice of the times more lenient: nay, daily observation assures us, that many, destitute of fellow-feeling, overleap even the bounds of legal restraint, and tyrannize over their slaves with the most wanton and cruel barbarity.

#### VI. *Of the ignorance, depravity, and moral degradation of Slaves.*

If the harsh treatment of our slave population is pitiable, their ignorance, depravity, and moral degradation, are still more to be deplored & commiserated. As if it were not enough that their mortal existence should be one continued scene of privation and sufferings, they are too generally left destitute of the knowledge & means accounted requisite for securing their everlasting welfare; and this too often by professing christians; nay more, by ministers of the gospel! The maxim of slave masters, in common with other tyrants, is, the more ignorance, the more safety. The slaves are, therefore, studiously kept in a state of mental darkness; and the efforts of benevolence, should they be directed to the removal of this mental cloud, would be interdicted and condemned, by their masters, as an officious, intermeddling with the concern of others. Whilst the christian philanthropists of the age are endeavouring to enlighten and christianize the heathen nations in every quarter of the globe, they have the mortification



to behold, in the midst of a nation, the most celebrated for free institutions & christian liberty. two million of immortals, to whom their benevolent exertions can never extend. Send them the missionaries, they have no opportunity to hear them. Send them the Bible--send them tracts, they cannot read them. Establish schools for their benefit, they have not leave nor leisure to attend them. We are, however, happy to state, that there are some noble examples of masters willing to encourage the religious instruction of their slaves; and pious ministers condescending enough to instruct them.

#### VII. *Of Emigration.*

Slaveholders, as might be expected, uniformly emigrate to the western and south-western states; whilst those who are sentimentally opposed to slavery, as uniformly emigrate to the north-western states.

#### VIII. *Of the effect which the Slave-holding System has on the White Population.*

In those parts of N. C. where the slave population is numerous, the whites may be divided into two great classes, widely separated from each other: viz. the Rich, and the Poor. The former have monopolized all the most valuable land, which being cultivated by their own slaves, the latter seem to be useless members of society. They are indigent and wretched indeed, slighted & despised, ignorant & depraved. In the enjoyments of life, they are but one step above the slaves themselves. In the exercise of their political immunity, they are too ignorant to think, too dependent to act, as freemen. The rich, having their labour performed by their slaves, are mostly independent of the poor.

#### *Of the sentiment of Slaveholders in regard to the evil of Slavery, and to the work of Emancipation.*

Many slaveholders sensible of the evils of slavery, are candid enough to acknowledge it, & express a wish that it were otherwise; yet so habituated are they to view their slaves as a part of their property, so intimately is the system interwoven with their mode of life, and domestick economy, that they strive to think the evil void of remedy; and so convinced are they of the futility of their claim to this kind of property, that the gentlest

attempt to agitate the subject, or the slightest hint at the work of emancipation, is sufficient to call forth their indignant resentment, as if their dearest rights were invaded. Others, with a noble disinterestedness that does them the highest honour, have dismissed their prejudices, and united heart and hand in the cause of humanity.

We have exhibited the state of slavery, as it exists in N. C. more at length than we had at first intended. We have neither exaggerated, concealed, or palliated, any circumstance of importance that presented itself, as being connected with the subject. We have confined ourselves to the statement of facts, without drawing inferences, or alluding to remote political consequences. It yet remains to explain our view with regard to the abolition of slavery. To make ourselves intelligible, on this point, we find it necessary to introduce it with a brief history of our Society.

The Manumission Society of North Carolina was first organized in the year 1816. Five or six Branches were soon formed in the counties of Guilford and Randolph. These Branches continued, for a year or two, to meet with alacrity, and to discuss with spirit, but so gloomy was the prospect, that the Advocates of Emancipation gradually cooled; their energy abated; & in the beginning of the year 1823, the society was on the point of dissolution. At length, however, it was resolved to make another vigorous effort. The Constitution was revised, & rendered a little more broad and general in its features. Discreet men were appointed to carry the fundamental principles of the Society into the surrounding country, and explain them fairly to the people. The result was, that popular prejudice in some degree subsided. New Branches were formed in every direction; & all has been life and spirit for two years past. There are now upwards of forty Branches, in the connexion, besides several female Associations, extending into seven or eight of the largest and most populous counties in the state.

The fundamental principles of our Society are:

- 1st, Emancipation should be gradual.
- 2nd, It should be accompanied with foreign Colonization.
- 3rd, It should be universal.

We have, as yet, acquired comparatively nothing towards the consummation of our object. We have done little more than enrol the names of such as we found friendly to the cause, and willing to lend their aid. It is evident we can do but little towards removing the evil, till the friends of emancipation acquire an ascendancy in the Legislature. Our voice cannot yet be heard with the General Assembly. Our humble petitions have been voted to lie on the table. Not even a Committee has been appointed to inquire into the cause of complaint, except that of 1824, who reported "the subject is one, that does not require Legislation."

From this view of the subject, we conceive that the course most proper for us to pursue, is, to agitate the subject amongst our fellow citizens; to show in glaring colours the enormity of the evil, its impolicy, its danger, its inconsistency with our political institutions, and with our holy religion; to arouse the unthinking; to interest the indifferent to a sense of justice, and feeling of humanity; and, if possible, to subdue the prejudices, and conciliate the favor, of those at present inimical to our designs; until we shall finally be able to speak with a voice that *must* be heard; and to make a petition that *must* be answered.

Should we be successful in gaining an influence in the Legislature of the state, we may probably pursue something like the following plan.

1st. Have laws passed prohibiting Slaves from being brought into the state or carried out of it.

2nd. A law to permit such masters as desire to manumit their slaves to do so.

3rd. A law to permit slaves to make contracts with their masters, by which they may purchase their own freedom.

4th. A law providing for the education of slaves.

5th. A law providing that, after a certain time, all persons shall be born free.

We may however find occasion to vary this plan, so as to adapt it to varying circumstances, and the exigencies of the times. Though we hold it as a fundamental principle that, in the mean time, the work of Colonization should progress, so as to remove

the people of color that may from time to time be liberated and prepared, yet as a Society, we intend not to interfere with that subject.

Thus have we exposed our views, and our situation, which we hope the Convention will take under consideration, and forward us an address suited to our circumstances. Surrounded as we are by interested opponents, who are constantly striving to misrepresent our motives; located in the heart of the evil we would remove; remote from other associations of the same kind; we stand in need of encouragement, advice, and aid. It is very apparent that the evil of slavery has of late excited much sensation in the south, especially in this state and in Virginia. We doubt not but the hearts of many men, of the first respectability, are favorable to the cause; and that they would cordially unite their effort with ours, were they made acquainted with our views.

MOSES SWAIM, *President*,

WILLIAM SWAIM, *Secretary*.

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The Committee of the whole having made a final report, the particulars of which will appear in the subsequent proceedings of the Convention, was discharged.

On motion of S. Phillips, it was

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the different Abolition, Manumission, and Anti-Slavery Societies, in the United States to collect and forward to the Convention, such duly authenticated testimony in relation to the treatment of Slaves, in regard to food, clothing, and punishment for petty offences, as may come within their knowledge.

The Committee appointed on the morning of the 27th inst. to draft a Memorial to Congress, praying the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, reported the following, which was adopted.

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the the United States of America, in Congress Assembled.*

#### THE MEMORIAL,

Of the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race.

*Adjourned Session/941*

Respectfully sheweth,

That your Memorialists, acting in accordance with the original design of their association, and prompted by their love of country, and the paramount obligations of christianity, earnestly solicit your attention to the condition of a portion of the population of the Territory over which your honourable body holds exclusive jurisdiction.

It is now fifty years since the Representatives of the American people, in Congress assembled, declared to the world, as propositions *self-evident*, that all men are born equal, and possessed of certain inalienable rights, among which are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. But this Congress one of the greatest, and most dignified bodies that the world ever saw, having but limited jurisdiction, could not bring these declarations into uncontrolled operation : they gave them forth as the earnest of our future inheritance. Neither has the constitution, framed since that period, granted such a power to their successors, in regard to the individual States.

Yet there is *one spot*, over which that instrument invests Congress with an unrestricted privilege, to sway the righteous sceptre held forth by the great Fathers of our country. To this spot the eyes of the friends of equal rights are directed ; and altho' half a century has been afforded to mature, and put in practice the principles of free government, they still behold, even there, an odious system of oppression—they find the *natural repository of Freedom a depot for Slaves*.

Thousands of the African race, purchased (some kidnapped,) for a distant market, in the surrounding country, are continually concentrated in this district, where the sounds of the clanking fetters mingle with the voice of American Statemen, legislating for a Free People !

We, therefore, respectfully entreat your honorable body, by the rapid progress making in other nations in the extirpation of Negro Slavery from the earth, not to be the last to co-operate in this glorious cause.—We entreat you, by the respect you owe to yourselves, and to the opinions of mankind—by the honor of our common country—and finally, by all that is held dear to the states-

man, the patriot and the christian, to wipe away this foul reproach from the Nation, by fixing a period, after which every child born of a Slave, in the District of Columbia, *shall be free.*

D. RAYMOND. → *V. et Prest. and Prest. pro. tem.*

Attest,

EDWIN P. ATLEE, — *Secretary.*

Baltimore, Oct. 23th, 1826.

The following preamble and resolution, offered by W. L. Stone, were adopted.

Whereas, in the opinion of this Convention, it is high time that the great constitutional question, as to the extent of the personal rights of citizens of the individual States, as citizens of the several States, should be definitively settled ; Therefore,

*Resolved,* That this Convention cordially approves of the course which the New York Manumission Society has adopted in regard to the free people of colour, citizens of that state, who have lately been seized and immured in the prisons of Washington City, and Petersburg, Virginia, upon the alledged suspicion of their being fugitive slaves.

On motion of S. Phillips, it was

*Resolved,* That it be recommended to each of the Anti-slavery Societies, to appoint a committee for the purpose of establishing like societies where they may deem it proper, and to forward to this Convention the titles of the Societies so formed, and their places of location, together with a list of their officers.

Adjourned to three o'clock. P. M.

October 23th, three o'clock P. M.

*Present.*

Stone,	Bowdle,
Barton,	Janney,
Earle,	Phillips,
Temple,	Kenworthy,
AtLee,	Lundy,
Raymond,	Swaim,
Kes.ey,	Ferris,
Allen,	Gibbons,
Reese,	Rowland,
Harryman,	

*Adjourned Session/943*

The Committee appointed at the last session to report concerning the transportation of slaves from one State to another, and the reception of their testimony; and the Committee appointed to propose measures for extending education among the coloured population, were discharged.

The resolution offered by T. Earle, at the last session, having been amended by the Committee of the whole, was after considerable discussion, adopted, as follows:

*Resolved,* That the Convention would highly approve of the appropriation of an adequate portion of the revenue of the United States, for the voluntary removal of such Slaves as may hereafter be emancipated, to any country which they may select for their future residence.

The Ayes and Noes being called for, were as follows:

Ayes.	Noes.
W. L. Stone,	Isaac Barton,
Thomas Earle,	Solomon Temple,
D. Raymond,	E. P. A. Lee,
William Kesley,	Benjamin Ferris,
John Allen,	William Gibbons,
John S. Reese,	Joseph G. Rowland,
David Harryman,	Jesse Kenworthy,
T. Bowdle,	
D. Janney,	
S. Phillips,	
B. Lundy,	
B. Swaim,	

The following resolution, offered in connection with the above, was referred to the consideration of the next Convention.

*Resolved,* That a Committee be appointed to draft a memorial to Congress, expressive of the sentiments contained in the foregoing resolution.

The Convention concurred with the Committee of the whole in the adoption of the resolution offered by Isaac Barton, at the last session, and amended as follows.

*Resolved,* That it be recommended to the friends of the Abolition of Slavery in the United States, to give a decided preference to the products of the labour of freemen.

Adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

October, 28. 7 o'clock P. M. Convention met.—*Present.*

Stone, Barton, Earle, Temple, AtLee, Rowland, Ferris, Gibbons, Raymond, Kesley, Allen, Reese, Harryman, Bowdle, Smith, Janney, Phillips, Kenworthy, Lundy, Swaim.

The Convention concurred with the Committee of the whole in the adoption of the following amendments to the Constitution offered at the last session.

*Resolved*, 1. That the word "*and*," immediately succeeding the word "*Secretaries*" in art. 8d, be stricken out, and the words, *and three Counsellors*, be inserted in the same article, immediately succeeding the word "*Treasurer*," and preceding the word "*who*."

2. That the following constitute Section 6th, Article 1st. viz.

Section 6th. The Counsellors shall be, *ex-officio*, members of the Convention, and entitled to participate in its deliberations. They shall, when requested so to do, give their opinion upon such legal subjects, as may claim the attention of the Convention.

The following resolution, offered at the late session, was taken up and considered :

*Resolved*, That the 2nd Article of the Constitution be amended by striking out the words, "*in the city of Philadelphia*," and inserting the words, "*in such place as the Convention may determine*," after the word "*October*."

On motion to adopt the same, there not being two thirds of the members present found in the affirmative, it was lost.

On motion, of Isaac Barton, it was

*Resolved*, 1. that a Committee of five members be appointed, to prepare rules for the government of the deliberations of this Convention, and report to its next session.

The following members were named to compose said Committee—viz.

Solomon Temple, T. Earle, Jonas Preston, W. S. Stone, and W. Gibbons.

*Resolved*, 2d. That Benjamin Ferris, and William Gibbons be added to the Acting Committee.

F

*Adjourned Session/945*



*Resolved*, 3d. That the Acting Committee be authorised to subscribe for four copies of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, for the term of one year, and draw upon the Treasurer for the amount of the subscription.

*Resolved*, 4th. That the Acting Committee be directed to have one thousand copies of the minutes of the present session printed and circulated.

The Committee appointed on the morning of the 27th inst. reported an Address to the several Abolition, Manumission, and Anti-slavery Societies, which being amended, was adopted, as follows, viz.

*To the Abolition, Manumission, and Anti-slavery Societies, throughout the United States.*

It has been concluded by the "the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery &c." that before closing its present session, it would be proper to address you, on some of the important subjects which have at this time claimed its attention.

Under these views, and with an earnest solicitude that all peaceable and inoffensive means may be used by the friends of Universal Liberty, to promote the great objects of our association, it has been *resolved* by the Convention, That it recommends to the friends of the Abolition of Slavery throughout the United States, in the purchase of articles, the productions of our common country, to give a preference to those produced by the labour of *Freemen*.

This measure we apprehend will not only encourage the labours of the freeman, by creating a ready and increasing market for his productions, but will produce a most beneficial effect on the mind of every one engaged to bear *this* testimony against *one* of the deadliest enemies of our country's glory. It will keep our *fundamental principles* alive in his own mind—it will create many opportunities to spread the views of this association, and will qualify him to defend it by precept and example.

But while we would encourage our brethren in every part of the union, to use *this*, and every other peaceable means, to extirpate slavery from our favoured country, this Convention would respectfully express our decided conviction, that no harsh or violent measures can ever promote this happy result.

Hitherto, the cause of personal freedom has kept pace with the progress of conviction—it has never *gone before*, it can never be *very far* behind. It is therefore by frequent and dispassionate appeals to the reason and understanding of our fellow citizens, that we shall most successfully resort, for attaining the glorious object of *universal emancipation*.

It is a consoling truth, that reason and religion, the interest and happiness of man, individually and collectively—our country's glory and the welfare of our posterity—are all concerned in this object. And when the eyes of our countrymen shall be opened to their truest interests, these are motives which cannot plead in vain. Let us then, with patience and forbearance, steadily persevere in the path of duty—a path, illustrious from the magnitude of the object to which it leads, and hallowed by the footsteps of the worthies who have trodden it before us.

This Convention has also *resolved*, to recommend to the Abolition and Manumission Societies, throughout our country, to use their influence, by petitions to Congress, that slavery may be wholly abolished in the District of Columbia.

This Territory, under the exclusive jurisdiction of our National Legislature, should present no object that could offend the eye, or harrow the feelings of the votary of Liberty. The traveller from other countries—the diplomatic agent of foreign governments—and our own citizens from every part of the United States, should contemplate in this *sacred spot*, no object but such as would elevate in the mind the character of our institutions, and warm the soul with a rational love for every part of our country, and every branch of our Government.

There is another subject to which we would again call your attention—a subject fraught with importance to the speedy success of our cause. It is generally known, that the character and condition of the black population have been urged, by the friends of slavery, to repress the spirit of emancipation. Hence the importance of improving the circumstances of the people of colour, by every means in the power of the benevolent.

For this purpose, and the first in magnitude, is **Education**. In many parts of our country, institutions for imparting to the

children of Africa the benefits of literary instruction, are in successful operation, and thousands of them have been prepared, and are preparing, to make useful and honourable members of civil society. Some specimens of their improvement have been produced and exhibited to the Convention, and to the citizens present with us, evincing extraordinary attainments in some of the most important branches of an English education. We have been renewedly encouraged to promote this noble work, and desire the encouragement of our brethren in every quarter of our country.

Another mode of improving the condition of the free coloured population, we would respectfully suggest to you. Let their children, as far as practicable, be placed apprentices to tradesmen and mechanics. These, when they arrive at maturity, if they conduct with propriety, will acquire character and respectability.

We have also agreed to recommend to you, that exertions be made in the several States, to induce Legislators to enact Laws that will prohibit the separation of the families of slaves, and enforce the obligation of the marriage covenant.—Every thing that impairs the strength of *this tie*, tends to the degradation of man. No country ever attained to eminence in the arts of civilized life or intellectual improvement, where the marriage covenant was not generally held sacred.

We also recommend, that exertions be made to procure, in the several states, the removal of all existing legal impediments, in the way of educating the people of colour.

And lastly, brethren, we desire your encouragement in our holy cause. Every noble and exalted principle is on our side; and if we faint not, our success is certain. And may you be encouraged, not only faithfully to labour in your own vineyards, but, by every proper means, aid in the planting of others. Do all you can to stimulate your friends, your neighbours, or connexions, in different locations, to institute Manumission or Abolition Societies. These will be the means of concentrating your strength—they will form rallying points for the friends of our cause—they will

spread the concern, and increase the happy number of those who shall partake with you in the rich reward of good works.

*Baltimore, October, 1827.*

D. RAYMOND, *Vice President, and Prest. pro. tem.*

EDWIN P. ATLEE, *Secretary.*

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The Convention concurred with the Committee of the whole, in the indefinite postponement of the 2nd Resolution in item 2d of the report of the Committee of arrangement &c. and in the rejection of the third item, of unfinished business of said report.

The Convention also concurred with the committee of the whole, in adopting the following resolutions, reported by the committee of arrangement, &c.

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the several Manumission, Abolition, and Anti-slavery Societies in the United States, to use their influence in the several State Legislatures, to procure the passage of Laws, which shall

1st. Prohibit the separation of the families of slaves, by sales of parts of them, to distant states or countries.

2nd. Regulate the marriage contracts of slaves, and guard and enforce their conjugal rights and duties.

3rd. Abolish all legal restrictions upon the instruction of the African race.

*Resolved*, That this Convention recommend to the friends of emancipation in general, and to each of the Anti-slavery and Abolition Societies, represented here, in particular, to prepare and forward petitions to Congress, praying that body to take immediate and effectual measures for the final abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

*Resolved*, That this Convention recommend to the members of the several Abolition and Manumission Societies, to use their exertions for promoting the formation of similar societies, in their states and vicinities.

The following resolution, offered by John Allen, was referred to the consideration of the next Convention.

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Anti-slavery Societies in those states into which the importation of Slaves is permitted, to present, or cause to be presented, to their respective Legislatures, petitions to prevent or limit the importation of slaves into the several states, so as to destroy the internal slave trade in this country.

The following resolutions for amending the constitution, were read, and laid on the table for consideration at the next session.

By John Allen. *Resolved*. That the constitution of this Convention be so amended, that on the request of members present, the votes shall be taken by states.

By T. Earle. *Resolved*, That Sect. 1st of Art. 2nd, of the constitution be so amended as to read thus:

The Convention shall meet on the Wednesday of October at Philadelphia, or at such other place as may be determined by the Convention of the preceding year.

By Isaac Barton. *Resolved*, That the 1st Sec. of Art. 2nd of the constitution be so altered as to read thus:

The Convention shall meet annually on the day of October: and the places of meeting shall be alternately at the cities of Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Adjourned *sine die*.

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The Acting Committee, having examined the Communications from the societies in Ohio and West Tennessee, made an extract from that of the former. The views of the latter were considered different from those of the Convention, in some particulars, and the committee concluded it would be best to omit the insertion of any part of their Communication.

#### EXTRACT FROM THE COMMUNICATION FROM OHIO.

The object of this society is, to do all we can towards the entire abolition of slavery, first, by refraining from the use of those articles raised by slaves; secondly, by publishing essays, either

original or selected, tending to throw light on the subject, and to shew that slavery is incompatible with the principles of christianity and contrary to sound policy; thirdly, by doing all we can for the relief of those within our state, by endeavouring to remove existing prejudices from the minds of those who are opposed to their having the privileges of freemen; fourthly, by petitioning the Legislature for the repeal of those laws, which stand opposed to their having the privileges of other citizens. We believe slavery a crime of the deepest dye that ever did, or ever will disgrace any people, and that wherever equal rights and equal privileges cease, there slavery begins; and we also believe, that the conscious receiver is as bad as the thief, and therefore, if we act the part of true philanthropists, we cannot partake of articles the product of slavery.

We may preach to them with respect to the injustice of oppression, from youth to old age, and yet if we continue to pay them for wielding the lacerating scourge, and riveting the fetters, well may they laugh at our inconsistency, and continue in their wickedness.

*Article third of our Constitution.*

No person shall be admitted to membership, unless he is in unison with the following propositions.

1st. I am opposed to every species of slavery.

2nd. I am willing to do all I can, consistently, towards the immediate abolition of slavery.

3rd. And when any of this class shall become free, I wish them to partake of the common privileges of other free citizens.

Nathan P. Grissell, William Blacklidge, Moses Allen, and Robert Lesley, are appointed a corresponding committee to communicate with other societies, similar to our own, or with such individuals as they may think will be disposed to advance the cause which we have espoused.

Our meetings are held on the first 7th day in each month, at Sunsbury meeting-house, Monroe County, Ohio.

**JOB M. WILLIAMS, President.**

**MOSES ALLEN, Secretary.**

**MINUTES**  
**OF THE**  
**TWENTIETH SESSION**  
**OF THE**  
**American Convention**  
**FOR PROMOTING THE**  
**ABOLITION OF SLAVERY,**  
**AND IMPROVING**  
**THE CONDITION OF THE AFRICAN RACE,**  
**CONVENED AT PHILADELPHIA,**  
**ON THE SECOND OF OCTOBER, 1827.**

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**Baltimore:**  
**PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE CONVENTION.**

*Benjamin Lundy, Printer.*

.....  
1827.

*Twentieth Convention/953*





# MINUTES.

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COMMON COUNCIL CHAMBER,  
*Philadelphia, Oct. 2, 1837.*

Agreeably to notification, the following Delegates to compose the 20th biennial session of the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. met.

*From New York, Mahlon Day.*

*Pennsylvania,*

Wm. Rawle,  
Jonas Preston,  
Joseph M. Paul,  
Thomas Shipley,  
James Mott,

D. Paul Brown,  
Joseph P. Norris, Jr.  
Edwin P. AtLee,  
Joseph Parker,  
Jesse W. Newport.

*Western Pennsylvania, David Hilles.*

*Maryland, David Brown.*

*Delaware, Lea Pusey.*

*Virginia, Robert Bond.*

The number of Delegates prescribed by the Constitution of the Convention, to form a quorum, being present, Wm. Rawle, Esq. was called to the *Chair*, and E. P. AtLee acted as *Secretary*.

On motion, Thomas Shipley and Joseph Parker were appointed tellers for an election of Officers of the Convention for two years.

After balloting, the tellers reported the following as the result of the election, viz.

President, William Rawle, Esq. L. L. D.

Vice President, Daniel Raymond, Esq.

Secretaries, E. P. AtLee, M. D. Mahlon Day.

Treasurer, Jonas Preston, M. D.

A communication from the New York Manumission Society

was read: also, one from the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. one from the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania: one from the Delaware Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. one from the Free Labor Society of Wilmington: one from the Benevolent Society of Alexandria: and one from Western Pennsylvania: from which, it appears that the following are the Delegates from the several Abolition, Manumission, and Free Produce Societies in the United States, now received.

*New York Manumission Society.*

Wm. L. Stone, Esq.	Harvey Shotwell,
Aaron Leggett,	Evau Lewis.
Mahlon Day,	

*Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c.*

William Rawle, Esq.	Isaac Barton,
Jonas Preston, M. D.	James Mott,
Jos. M. Paul,	Joseph P. Norris, Jr. Esq.
Benjamin Tucker,	D. P. Brown, Esq.
Thomas Shipley,	E. P. AtLee, M. D.

*Western Pennsylvania Convention of Delegates of Abolition and Manumission Societies,*

David Hilles, Rev. Charles Wheeler, John Graham.

*Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania,*

Joseph Parrish, M. D. Joseph Parker, Esq. & Jesse W. Newport.

*Delaware Free Labor Society of Wilmington,*

Benjamin Webb, and Isaac Pierce.

*Virginia Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery,*

Noble S. Braden,	Edward Walker,
Benjamin F. Taylor,	Elisha Fawcett.
Robert Bond,	

On motion, the following Delegates were appointed a Committee of Arrangement to prepare the proper business of this Convention, and report to the next sitting—

Thomas Shipley,	Jonas Preston,
Lea Pusey,	David Brown.
Robert Bond,	

The following resolution, offered by Jonas Preston, was read and adopted:

*Resolved*, That our fellow citizens, friendly to the abolition of slavery, may be admitted to attend the several sittings of this Convention.

On motion, adjourned to 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

October 3, 10 o'clock, A. M.

Convention met. *Present*,

Messrs. Day,

Leggett,

Rawle,

Preston,

Tucker,

Shipley,

Barton,

Mott,

D. P. Brown,

AtLee,

Hilles,

Peirce,

Pusey,

Parker,

Newport,

Bond.

The following delegates also appeared, and took their seats, viz:

*From Maryland,*

Daniel Raymond, Esq. William Kesley, Benjamin Lundy.

*Delaware,* Samuel S. Grubb, Esq.

*District of Columbia,* J. C. Dawes, R. H. Neal.

*Ohio,* David Scholfield.

The following communications were received and read—one from the Salem Abolition and Colonization Society of Columbiana County, Ohio: one from the Columbiana Abolition Society of Ohio: one from the African Slave Abolition Society of Washington, D. C. one from the Anti-Slavery Convention of Maryland: and one from the Virginia Convention.

Agreeably to the resolution adopted last session, the following gentlemen were, after tellers were appointed and an election had, declared to be chosen as Counsellors to the Convention:

Peter A. Jay, Esq. of New York.

Horace Binney, Esq. L. L. D. of Philadelphia.

Daniel Raymond, Esq. of Baltimore.

The minutes of the Acting Committee of the Convention, were read and accepted.

The report, in part, as follows, of the Committee of Arrangement, was produced, accepted and ordered to lie on the table for the present.

*To the American Convention.*

The Committee of Arrangement respectfully report in part, that on examining the minutes of the adjourned session, they find the following items of unfinished business.

1st. Page 42 of the Minutes—two resolutions referred to this Convention, in the following words:

*Resolved*, That this Convention would highly approve of the appropriation of an adequate portion of the revenue of the United States, for the voluntary removal of such slaves as may hereafter be emancipated, to any country, which they may select for their future residence.

*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to draft a memorial to Congress, expressive of the sentiments contained in the foregoing resolution.

2d. Page 43.—The following resolution proposed by Isaac Barton, and referred to a Committee, consisting of Solomon Temple, Thomas Earle, Jonas Preston, W. L. Stone, and W. Gibbons.—

*Resolved*, That a Committee of five members be appointed to prepare Rules for the government of the deliberations of this Convention, and report to its next session.

3d. Page 48.—Amendments of the Constitution.

On a careful examination of the several addresses to this Convention, and of the business which ought to claim its attention at the present session, your Committee recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to draft an address to the Legislatures of the non-slaveholding States, praying them to use their influence with their Representatives in Congress, to promote the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

2. *Resolved*, That this Convention consider the formation of Anti-Slavery Associations, particularly in the slave holding States, as a most efficient means to promote the abolition of slavery; and do recommend the subject to the particular attention of the acting Committee.

3. *Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of submitting to the consideration of their counsel the following question: Can a resident of the United States, consistently with the Constitution, be denied the trial by jury, if claimed as a fugitive slave?

4. *Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to draft an address to the citizens of the United States, on the importance of educating the children of indigent free persons of Color.

5. *Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to frame an address to Congress on the subject of preventing the further introduction of slaves into the territory of Florida.

6. *Resolved*, That                    be a Committee to consider of and report to this Convention, what measures are necessary to be taken to promote the abolition of the domestic slave trade, and to protect free persons of color from being kidnapped; and whether any regulation might be adopted to prevent their being carried off in steam boats, stages, and coasting vessels.

7. *Resolved*, That the subject of free and slave labor, and the propriety of further encouraging the use of productions not contaminated by slavery, be referred to a Committee.

8. *Resolved*, That the subject of preparing and proposing a plan for the gradual abolition of slavery, be considered by the Convention in Committee of the whole.

Respectfully submitted,

THOS. SHIPLEY, *Chairman*.

10 mo. 3d, 1927.

On motion of Wm. Kesley, that the first item of the report of said Committee be now considered—it was carried.

A motion having been made, that a Committee be appointed to draft a memorial to Congress, in accordance with the resolution attached to the first item of the report of the Committee of Arrangement, and the subject having been partially discussed,

It was ordered to lie on the table for the present.

No report having been made by the Committee chosen at the last session to perform the duties brought forward in the second item of the report of the Committee of Arrangement,

On motion of Robert Bond, the following were chosen a Committee to frame By-Laws, Rules, &c. for the government of this Convention, and report to this session—Robert Bond, Isaac Barton, and James Mott.

The third item of the report being considered,

On motion of D. Raymond, that the resolution offered by John Allen, at the last session, be indefinitely postponed, it was carried.

The resolution of T. Earle, offered last session, was postponed till to-morrow.

On motion of T. Shipley, that an addition be made to the Committee of Arrangement, it was adopted, and Daniel Raymond, David Scholfield, and Jesse W. Newport were appointed.

The fourth item of the report of the Committee of Arrangement being brought up,

It was moved that the first part be adopted, and after some discussion, deferred till this afternoon.

Adjourned to 3 o'clock, P. M.

3 o'clock, P. M.

Convention met. D. Raymond, V. P. in the Chair. *Presents* Messrs. Leggett, Day, Preston, Paul, Tucker, Shipley, Barton, Mott, AtLee, Hilles, Pierce, Pusey, Parker, Newport, Bond, Grubb, Raymond, Kesley, Lundy, Scholfield, Dawes, Neal.

A communication from Greensboro', North Carolina, was received and read, and submitted, with the rest of the communications to this Convention, to the Committee of Arrangement.

The first resolution offered by the Committee of Arrangement, viz.

*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to draft an address to the Legislatures of the non-slaveholding States, praying them to use their influence with their Representatives in Congress to promote the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia—being considered, it was, on motion, indefinitely postponed.

The second resolution of the Committee of Arrangement, viz.

*Resolved*, That this Convention consider the formation of Anti-Slavery Associations, particularly in the slaveholding States, as a most efficient means to promote the abolition of slavery, and do recommend the subject to the particular attention of the Acting Committee,—being considered, was adopted.

**The third resolution of the Committee, viz.—**

*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of submitting to their counsel, the following question, viz. "Can a resident of the United States, consistently with the Constitution, be denied the trial by jury, if claimed as a fugitive slave?"—was adopted, and the following Committee appointed, viz. Thos. Shipley, William Kesley, James Mott, and Robert Bond.

**The fourth resolution of Committee viz:**

*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed, to draft an address to the citizens of the United States, on the importance of educating the children of indigent free persons of color—was adopted, and the following is the committee. Lea Pusey, Mahlan Day, Isaac Barton.

The consideration of the 5th resolution, offered by the Committee of Arrangement was, on motion, deferred until to-morrow.

The following resolution, offered by B. Lundy, was adopted.—

*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to prepare an address to the several Abolition and Manumission Societies in the United States, requesting them to have memorials signed by as many of the citizens of their vicinity as practicable, and forwarded to Congress, praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia—and the following is the Committee—Benjamin Lundy, D. P. Brown, Samuel S. Grubb, Joseph Parker, Jos. C. Dawes.

The following resolution, offered by William Kesley, was read:

*Resolved*, That the friends of abolition be, and they are hereby requested, to memorialize the Legislatures of their respective states, calling upon them to request the Representatives and Senators of their several states, in Congress, to endeavor to obtain the passage of an Act, declaring that, after a given date, not far distant, all persons born in the District of Columbia, shall be free at a certain age.—Laid on the table.

On motion of B. Tucker, That the Resolution in conclusion of the second paragraph, of the first item, reported by the Committee of Arrangement as unfinished business, and presented by T. Earle, at the last session of Convention, viz:—

*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to draft a memorial

to Congress, expressive of the sentiments contained in the foregoing resolution,—be indefinitely postponed. It was carried.

Adjourned to to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

*October 4th, 10 o'clock, A. M.*

Convention met. Wm. Rawle, Esq. President, in the Chair.

*Present*, Messrs. Day, Rawle, Preston, Paul, Shipley, Barton, Mott, J. P. Norris, Jun. D. P. Brown, AtLee, Pierce, Pusey, Parker, Newport, Bond, Grubb, Raymond, Kesley, Lundy, D Brown, Scholfield, Dawes, and Neal.

The following resolution was offered by B. Lundy:

*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to make enquiry and report to the next session, what experiments have been heretofore made, and are now making, on the American Continent and Islands, in relation to the cultivation of the products of cotton, rice, sugar, tobacco, &c. by free labor, or by slaves whose condition has been so meliorated as to approach the condition of free-men, shewing what is the relative advantages between free and slave labor. Which being adopted,—Benjamin Lundy, Thomas Shipley, Joseph Parker, William Kesley, and David Scholfield, were constituted such Committee.

The Committee appointed to prepare By-Laws, Rules, &c. for the government of the Convention, made their report, which being read, was adopted, as follows:—

*To the American Convention, &c.*

The committee, appointed to prepare rules for the government of the Convention, submit the following for consideration.

On behalf of the committee,

JAMES MOTT.

10th Mo. 4th, 1827.

**RULES, &c.**

1. As soon as a quorum of members appear, the President shall take his seat, and call to order: after which no member shall depart without leave of the President.

He shall be judge of order, and his decisions thereon shall be



immediately submitted to, unless two members require an appeal to Convention; which shall be decided without debate.

He shall name all Committees, unless Convention otherwise determine.

2. It shall be the duty of the Secretaries to furnish the Chairman of every Committee with a copy of the Resolution under which they are appointed.

3. After the roll has been called, the order of the business shall be as follows:

The minutes of the last preceding meeting shall be read, and if necessary corrected, as to matters of mistake or form.

Reports of Committees shall be called for; after which any business may be proceeded on, at the pleasure of the Convention.

4. Every member presenting a paper to the Chair, shall first state its general purport: and every member who shall make a motion, shall rise and address the Chair.

5. No debate shall be entered into on any motion, unless that motion be seconded, and stated from the Chair; and all motions shall, if requested by two members, or by the President, be reduced to writing.

No member shall speak more than twice upon any one question, without leave of the Convention, and when he does speak shall rise and address the President.

6. While a subject is under consideration, no motion shall be made, except to amend, divide, commit, or postpone it; but a motion to adjourn, shall always be in order, and shall be decided without debate.

7. Upon the reading of a Report, Resolution, or other paper, unless upon motion otherwise ordered, it shall, as matter of course, lie on the table.

8. Upon motion, seconded and carried, Convention may resolve itself into a Committee of the whole; when the President, having first appointed a Chairman, shall leave the Chair, and shall possess the same privileges as any other member. In such Committees, the latter clause of the fifth rule, which prohibits a member from speaking more than twice upon any one question, shall be dispensed with.

9. Every member on a Committee shall attend the call of the Chairman, who shall be the person first named on the Committee.

10. No motion for re-consideration shall be permitted, unless made and seconded by members who were in the majority on the original question; nor then, unless made at the same meeting as the decision, or at the next meeting after it.

11. The yeas and nays shall be entered on the Minutes, at the request of any two members.

12. No rule of Convention shall at any time be dispensed with, unless two-thirds of the members present concur.

The Committee of arrangement, &c. made the following final report.

*To the American Convention &c.*

The Committee of Arrangement,

Report in conclusion, that on examining the addresses last submitted to them, they find the following subjects require the attention of the Convention, and recommend the adoption of the following resolutions.

9th. *Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to consider of, and report, whether any measures ought now to be adopted, to meliorate the condition of the slave population, particularly in respect to the relation of husband and wife, and the separation of near connexions, by sale.

10th. *Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to examine and report to the next session, what amendments are necessary in the laws of the several states, more effectually to protect the rights of free persons of color, particularly to render their testimony admissible in courts of justice.

On behalf of the Committee,

THOMAS SHIPLEY, *Chairman*.

10 mo. 4th, 1827.

The fifth resolution, offered by the Committee of Arrangement, postponed until to-day, being brought forward again, was largely discussed; but a motion being made for postponing the subject for further consideration this afternoon—and having carried,

Adjourned to 3 o'clock P. M.

*3 o'clock P. M.*

Convention met. William Rawle, Esq. President, in the Chair.

*Present*, Messrs. Day, Rawle, Preston, Paul, Tucker, Shipley, Barton, Mott, J. P. Norris, Jr. D. P. Brown, AtLee, Hilles, Webb, Pierce, Pusey, Parker, Newport, Bond, Kesley, Lundy, Scholfield, Dawes, and Neal.

The following preamble and resolution, offered by D. P. Brown, was read and adopted,—viz.

Whereas, Geo. M. Stroud, Esq. of the City of Philadelphia, has issued proposals, to publish a work entitled, "A sketch of the laws which relate to slavery, in the several States of the United States of America,—and

Whereas, a work of this kind has long been a desideratum with the societies represented in this Convention,—Therefore,

*Resolved*, That the acting Committee be authorized to subscribe on the part of this Convention for fifty copies of that work, when it shall be completed—provided, it shall meet their approbation.

The fifth resolution, offered by the Committee of Arrangement, being again considered and discussed, was adopted; and the following Committee was appointed to fulfil its object—Wm. Rawle, Benj. Webb, D. Paul Brown, Joseph C. Dawes, and Robert Bond.

The sixth resolution, offered by the Committee of Arrangement, was read, considered, and adopted: And the following Committee was appointed to attend the duties therein specified, viz. David Scholfield, Mahlon Day, Isaac Pierce, Benj. Tucker, and Jesse W. Newport.

The following resolution was offered by T. Shipley; and being read, was adopted, viz.

Whereas, a periodical work, entitled the African Observer, has been for some time published in this city, edited by Enoch Lewis: And whereas, a weekly newspaper, entitled Freedom's Journal, edited by John B. Russwurm, a person of color, has been for some time published in the city of New York: And whereas, both these works from their intrinsic merits, in aiding the cause of the injured Africans, deserve the support and encouragement of this Convention: Therefore,

*Resolved*, That the acting Committee be authorized to sub-

scribe for five copies of the African Observer, and two copies of Freedom's Journal: and that they give them such circulation as they may think best.

Joseph Parker offered the following:—

*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed, to prepare a memorial to the Congress of the United States, praying that body to adopt measures for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia—Which was adopted, and the following Committee appointed to prepare such a memorial, viz. Joseph Parker, Lea Pusey, and William Kesley.

The resolution of William Kesley, offered yesterday afternoon, and laid on the table, being again brought forward, was, on motion, postponed.

On motion, the following Committee was appointed to prepare an Address to the several Abolition, Manumission, Anti-Slavery, &c. Societies, in the United States, viz. Thomas Shipley, Benjamin Webb, and Benjamin Tucker.

Adjourned to 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

*October 5th, 10 o'clock, P. M.*

Convention met, the President, William Rawle, Esq. in the chair.

*Present*, Messrs. Day, Rawle, Preston, Paul, Shipley, Mott, D. P. Brown, AtLee, Hilles, Webb, Pierce, Pusey, Parker, Newport, Bond, Garrett; Grubb, Raymond, Kesley, Lundy, Scholfield, Dawes, and Neal.

The Committee appointed to draft a Memorial to Congress, praying that body to pass an act abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, made report: which was read and ordered to lie on the table.

Robert Bond having offered the following resolution, viz.—

*Resolved*, That a Committee be now appointed to examine and settle the Treasurer's accounts, and report what sums may be necessary, to be raised for the current expences of the Convention, and to apportion it on the several Societies represented—

M. Day, T. Shipley, D. Hilles, J. Pierce, J. Parker, R. Bond, S. S. Grubb, W. Kesley, D. Scholfield, and J. C. Dawes, were appointed to the services therein mentioned.

The subjoined resolution, offered by Lea Pusey, was read and adopted, viz.

*Resolved*, That the Acting Committee be, and they are hereby directed, to continue the subscription of this Convention to the work entitled the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," edited by Benjamin Lundy, for the additional term of two years, to be paid for annually.

The Committee appointed to prepare a memorial to Congress, praying that body to pass an Act to prevent the further introduction of slaves into Florida, reported a draught of one, which being read, a motion was made to include the Territory of Arkansas. The subject having been somewhat discussed, it was moved, seconded, and decided, that this Convention go into Committee of the Whole, for a more particular examination of it; and Dr. Jonas Preston was chosen Chairman.

The Committee of the Whole having risen, reported the memorial without amendment.

On motion of James Mott, the memorial was re-committed to the Committee; and James Mott and William Kesley were added to said Committee.

The following resolution, presented by T. Shipley, was read and adopted:

*Resolved*, That the Acting Committee be directed to have 250 copies of the Constitution of the Convention, as amended, with the By-laws, printed for the use of the Convention; and that they also have printed 750 copies of the Minutes of the present session, and distributed to the several Anti-Slavery Societies in the United States.

The following Preamble and Resolution were offered by Benjamin Lundy, and read—viz.

Whereas, a large number of Anti-Slavery Societies have recently been organized in the slave holding states of this Union, many of them very far south and west of Philadelphia; and a disposition having been manifested among them to unite with the societies which compose this Convention, several of them being now represented herein;—and seeing it is all-important that societies of this description, in every portion of our country, should

co-operate in their labors, for the accomplishment of the great object which they severally have in view: Therefore,

*Resolved*, That the first Section of the second Article of this Convention be stricken out, and the following inserted in lieu thereof, viz.

The Convention shall meet annually, at the city of Washington, in the month of \_\_\_\_\_—provided, however, that when a majority of the members may deem it expedient to adjourn to some other place, they shall be empowered so to do, once in every two years.—It may also be specially convened, as is herein-after provided.

On motion, adjourned to 3½ o'clock, P. M.

3½ o'clock, P. M.

Convention met, D. Raymond, Esq. Vice President, in the Chair.

*Present*, Messrs. Day, Preston, Paul, Tucker, Barton, Mott, AtLee, Hilles, Webb, Pierce, Pusey, Parker, Newport, Bond, Grubb, Raymond, Kesley, Lundy, D. Brown, Scholfield, and Dawes.

The following gentlemen were appointed the Acting Committee, to transact the business of this Convention in its recess, viz. James Mott, Thomas Shipley, Isaac Barton, E. P. AtLee, Benjamin Tucker, Mahlon Day, Lea Pusey, Sam. S. Grubb, William Kesley, Benjamin Lundy, Daniel Raymond, Joseph Parker, Robert Bond, J. W. Newport, Jonas Preston.

The following resolution for an amendment to the Constitution, was presented by James Mott, viz.

*Resolved*, That Sec. 1st, of Art. 2d, of this Constitution be so amended as to read thus:

ART. II. Sec. 1. This Convention shall meet on the 1st Wednesday of December, at Philadelphia, or at such other place as may be designated by the preceding session of the Convention.

On motion, the several amendments proposed to the Constitution, during this session and the last, were referred to the following Committee for consideration, to report thereon to-morrow morning, viz. Jonas Preston, James Mott, Benjamin Lundy, Joseph C. Dawes, and Robert Bond.

The Committee appointed to draft an Address to the citizens of the United States, on the importance of educating the children of indigent free persons of color, presented the same, which being read, was ordered to lie on the table.

The memorial to Congress, on the subject of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, being again read, and considered, was adopted.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the memorials to Congress, signed by the President and Secretary, be delivered to the Acting Committee, and by them forwarded to both Houses of Congress.

The 7th Resolution, offered by the Committee of Arrangement, was on motion referred to the Committee appointed on the 4th inst. "To make enquiry and report to the next session what experiments, have been heretofore made, and are now making, on the American Continent and Islands, in relation to the cultivation of the products of cotton, rice, sugar, tobacco, &c. by free labor, or by slaves whose condition has been so meliorated as to approach the condition of free men, shewing what is the relative advantages between free and slave labor.

The 8th Resolution, offered by the Committee of Arrangement, was, on motion, recommended to the particular consideration of Convention at the next session.

The 9th Resolution, offered by the Committee of Arrangement, was also referred to the consideration of next session.

The 10th Resolution, offered by the Committee of Arrangement, was referred to the Acting Committee, whose duty it shall be to report thereon to the next session.

The following Article was adopted, and ordered to be added to the By-Laws, &c. for the government of the Convention, viz.

All memorials, and public addresses shall be first read throughout, and then if required by two members, they shall be read by paragraphs, previous to their adoption.

The following Resolution, offered by S. S. Grubb, was read, and referred to the Committee on Amendments, viz.

*Resolved*, That when this Convention do adjourn, it adjourn to meet in the city of Baltimore, on the                      day of                      1828

The Resolution of William Kesley, offered on the afternoon of the 3d inst. being again considered, was, on motion, adopted.

Adjourned till to-morrow morning, at 9 o'clock.

October 6, 9 o'clock, A. M.

Convention met, the President in the Chair.

*Present*, Messrs. Day, Rawle, Preston, Shipley, Barton, Mott, Brown, AtLee, Hilles, Webb, Pierce, Pusey, Parker, Newport, Bond, Raymond, Lundy, Scholfield, and Dawes.

The Address to the citizens of the United States, on the subject of the instruction of the children of indigent free persons of color, being read, and considered by paragraphs, was adopted, as follows:

*The American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery,  
&c. to the citizens of the United States.*

Among the various subjects which have obtained our attention at this time, that of the education of indigent colored children is considered one of primary importance. When we look around upon the one hand, and see the incalculable advantages which have accrued to the children of white persons in limited circumstances, from the instruction bestowed upon them by judicious benevolent provisions; and upon the other, to observe the deplorable effects of the want of instruction, in the case of the neglected children of colored parents, we feel a conviction that the period has arrived, when the Abolitionist and the Philanthropist ought to renew and redouble their efforts to remove the unpleasant contrast; and it is with much satisfaction we have learned that in some parts of our country, the attention of benevolent individuals, and charitable institutions, has been attracted to this subject, and the success which attended their endeavors, furnishes a most powerful inducement to follow up so praiseworthy an undertaking by the united efforts of all those who are one in sentiment with us, in improving the condition of the African race. We trust it will be readily conceded, that whatever measures have the effect of enlightening any portion of the community, are a public good; and upon this maxim, the education of the children of what are



called the lower classes, has often been recommended with a laudable zeal, by statesmen eminent for their wisdom and foresight; from hence, and the acts of some of the State Legislatures, much has been done to enlighten the minds of indigent children; unhappily, in some parts of our country, colored children are deprived of the benefits of education by ungenerous constructions of existing laws; in some, by the absence of all legal provision for their instruction, and in others by the existence of legal prohibitions: thus leaving a wide field open for the benevolent operations of those who feel an interest in raising the degraded African from a state of ignorance which is a reproach to the age and country in which we live.

As regards the capacity of colored children to acquire knowledge, when the opportunity is afforded them, many facts might be collected to shew that they are by no means deficient in intellect; that the minds of many of them are of quick perception, and capable of arriving at considerable degrees of eminence in scientific research; in short, that nothing but the means of instruction are wanting to the poor colored child, to elevate him to that station in society which he is entitled to upon every principle of justice and humanity; which his and our Creator, no doubt, designed he should occupy, and from which he is debarred by the cruel hand of injustice and oppression.

If these views are correct, it is much to be lamented that instruction has been so long withheld from thousands of these objects of pity, and our efforts ought to be so directed as to repair or remove the evil. Under these impressions, we earnestly recommend to the friends of emancipation and equal rights, that they give to this subject the solemn consideration which its importance so loudly demands, and adopt such measures as may appear best calculated to dissipate the cloud of ignorance by which the present colored generation is enveloped, and succeeding ones threatened. If those measures are pursued with a zeal worthy of such a cause, we trust your labors will be crowned with success, and the benevolent heart will expect no richer reward.

The Committee, appointed to draft an address to the several Abolition, Manumission, &c. Societies in the United States—

reported an essay, which was read, considered by paragraphs, and adopted, as follows:—

*To the various Societies instituted to promote the Abolition of Slavery in the United States, or to protect the rights and improve the condition of the People of Color.*

The American Convention of delegates from Societies, associated in various parts of our country, to promote the abolition of slavery and improve the condition of the African race, convened in Philadelphia, having harmoniously transacted its important concerns, address you at this time with increased interest for the success of the cause they have espoused; firmly relying on the Divine Being for a blessing on their feeble efforts to promote the cause of justice and mercy.

The communications forwarded to the Convention at this time, fully evince that the cause of emancipation continues to advance, and that even in the strong holds of slavery the friends of the oppressed slave are fast increasing in numbers. Our fellow citizens of the south and west are becoming more and more awakened to a sense of the evil, injustice, and impolicy of slavery; and we firmly trust that those who have engaged in the benevolent work of "restoring liberty to the captive, and to let the oppressed go free," will not look back with discouragement at the long period this cruelty has prevailed, but continue to press forward with increased energy to the goal they have set before them, the complete and final abolition of slavery within the United States. To promote this desirable object we know of no measures more efficient than the formation of anti-slavery associations, particularly in situations where the evils of slavery prevail; for experience has fully proved that a combination of effort has often effected that which individual exertion has attempted in vain. The dissemination of useful works and tracts on the subject of slavery, cannot but have a powerful effect in enlightening the public mind on this awfully interesting subject. The Convention would particularly recommend the following works to your special attention—viz: Clarkson's Abolition of the Slave Trade, abridged by Evan Lewis; Clarkson's Thoughts on Slavery; Laws of the State of Pennsylvania, passed 1780; Tract on Slavery, pub-

ished by the Tract Association of Friends in Philadelphia; Hodgson's Letter to J. B. Say, on the comparative productiveness of Free and Slave Labor; and a work now preparing for publication in this city, entitled, A Sketch of the Laws in relation to Slavery in the United States, by George M. Stroud. They also recommend that each Anti-Slavery Society subscribe, and promote subscriptions among their members and others, for the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, edited by Benjamin Lundy, of Baltimore; and to the *African Observer*, a periodical work published in Philadelphia, by Enoch Lewis; and the *Freedom's Journal*, a weekly paper published at New York, by John B. Russwurm, a person of color. All these works we believe are well conducted, and will be powerful aids to the cause of liberty and justice.

As an incipient step to the abolition of slavery, we earnestly recommend that immediate application be made to the Legislatures of states where slavery exists, to prohibit the sale of slaves out of the state. The traffic which is thus carried on from state to state, is fruitful of evil consequences, not only depraving the minds of those engaged in it, but producing the most cruel separations of near connexions, and depriving its victims of almost every incentive to conjugal fidelity or correctness of conduct. Perhaps next in importance in meliorating the condition of the slaves, is the adoption of regulations for their religious instruction, and the education of their children.

The condition of the free people of color in the United States, has claimed our attention, and we earnestly recommend to the several societies, not only to use their endeavors to protect them in their just rights, but to use every means in their power to elevate them in the scale of society, by affording them and their children the means of literary instruction. And as the first day of the week is too frequently spent by them in dissipation, we would suggest the formation of associations wherever practicable, for the establishment of first day or Sunday schools for their benefit, as well as schools on the other days of the week. The degraded condition of this class of men ought to call forth our regret and sympathy; being precluded from pursuing the lucrative employments of life, it is much to be desired that more of

them than have heretofore been permitted may be instructed in handicraft trades, and employed in manufactures.

You will observe, by our minutes, that the Convention has again addressed Congress, on the important subject of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the restriction of the further introduction of slaves into the Territory of Florida; and we hope our application will be supported by addresses, from other bodies of our constituents. The Convention believes that if the advocates of freedom persevere in endeavoring to enlighten the public mind on this all important subject, that the time is not far distant when a triumph will be obtained over the strong prejudice and delusion which has so long continued, and the cause of justice and humanity will finally prevail.

The Convention fervently desires that all who have put their hands to this great work may really deserve the epithet of "Saints," which in irony has been reproachfully cast upon them; and by their energy, prudence, and moderation, convince their opponents they have been mistaken in their characters and conduct. And we confidently hope that the blessing of that Almighty Being, who equally regards the bond and the free, will crown your righteous labors with success.

The Committee appointed to prepare an address to the various Anti-Slavery Societies in the United States, requesting them to memorialize Congress on the subject of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, reported an essay, which was read, considered, and adopted, as follows:—

*To the various Anti-Slavery Societies in the United States.*

The American Convention, for promoting the abolition of slavery, and improving the condition of the African race, feeling desirous to encourage every measure that may have a tendency to aid this deeply injured people, and to relieve our country from the many evils inseparably connected with the system of individual oppression, take the liberty to address you upon the present occasion.—And in the performance of this task, we are particularly solicitous to draw your attention to the subject of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia—a subject

which we view as highly important, especially at the present moment, and deserving your most serious consideration.

When we reflect that the government of this District emanates from the Congress of the United States—that the power to regulate its political and municipal concerns is solely vested in that body—that the people in every State must share the honor or opprobrium attending the course of conduct pursued by the authorities in the administration of its local government,—and that the whole Union must be measurably responsible for the consequences resulting therefrom—when we take this view of the subject, we ought not for a moment to hesitate in appealing to the friends of humanity in every section of the country, and urging them to use all lawful and just means, within their reach, to limit, and finally to eradicate the demoralizing and corrupting system of slavery, which is yet upheld and tolerated there.

We will not enter into a minute detail of the many advantages that would result to the nation, either morally or politically, from the abolition of slavery in the District aforesaid.—But we feel it an imperious duty to state, that in our opinion it would be attended with the most salutary effects on other portions of the Union, the influence of which would be incalculable. Under the present regulations, that distinguished spot on which is erected the sacred Fane of republican Freedom, is not only polluted by the galling shackle and the iron rod of oppression, but is, absolutely, converted into a great depository for the purchase and sale of human beings. The demoralizing effects which this must produce on the minds of many who become familiarized with it, and the odium which it attaches to us, in the estimation of enlightened foreigners, many of whom are constant witnesses thereof, must inevitably sap the foundation of our free institutions, and degrade our national character in the eyes of the world. This, we conceive, (to say nothing of the injustice of slavery and its concomitants,) should be a sufficient incentive to action—a sufficient inducement to labor in the holy cause of emancipation.

We are aware that it has been asserted, even on the floor of Congress, that we should wait until the people of that District themselves demand the abolition of the system of slavery. This doctrine we conceive to be fallacious. *The people there are*

*not exclusively responsible for the national disgrace and criminality attending it.* The United States' government, and of course, the people in every section of the Union, must bear the odium and meet the consequences:—and if so, it follows, that they have a perfect right to avert the same, by such just and legal means as their wisdom may point out, and their judgment select. But a portion of the people of that District *are* now demanding the eradication of the evil in question. Societies for the abolition of slavery have been organized among them; and they have protested against the continuance of the cruel and disgraceful practice. Let, then, the voice of their brethren elsewhere, be heard in unison with theirs. Let a strong appeal be made to the justice of the nation, that the constituted authorities may be induced to take up the subject, and bestow upon it that care which its importance imperiously requires.

To facilitate the accomplishment of this purpose, we would advise and recommend, that petitions and memorials be circulated by all the anti-slavery societies in each of the States and territories, for the signature of the citizens at large, and that they be forwarded to Congress by the Representatives, with instructions to lay them before that body, at an early day.

The Committee appointed to consider on and report what measures, &c. made the following report.

*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c.*

The Committee appointed “to consider of and report what measures are necessary to be taken to promote the Abolition of the Domestic Slave Trade, and to protect free persons of color from being kidnapped, and whether any regulations might be adopted to prevent their being carried off in steam boats, stages, and coasting vessels,” Report, that although in their opinion the intimate connexion existing between the Domestic Slave Trade, and the system of slavery generally, precludes the expectation of applying a very efficient check to the one, except by a reduction of the other, yet they indulge the hope that the united influence of the several Abolition and Anti-Slavery Societies throughout the

Union, directed to memorializing Congress, might procure some wholesome restraint upon a traffick fraught with such aggravated evil, and productive of such complicated misery.

In relation to the other subject submitted to them, viz. "the protection of free persons of color against kidnappers," the Committee are of opinion that the existing laws appear to be amply sufficient, if properly executed. They have, therefore, no other measures to recommend than the less obtrusive, but persevering exertions, of the several associations now formed, and which may be hereafter instituted, in the different sections of our country.

On behalf of the Committee,

DAVID SCHOLFIELD, *Chairman.*

The Report was accepted.

The committee appointed to examine the Treasurer's accounts; and to report what sums may be necessary to be raised for the current expenses of the Convention; and to apportion it on the several societies represented, submitted the following:

*To the American Convention.*

We have examined the accounts of the Treasurer, and find them correct; and that there is a balance in his hands of \$53 70. On consideration of the exigencies of the Convention, and the small sum in the treasury, we recommend, that the several societies be requested to furnish the following sums, viz.

New York	-	-	-	-	-	\$50 00
Pennsylvania	-	-	-	-	-	50 00
Western Pennsylvania	-	-	-	-	-	10 00
Delaware	-	-	-	-	-	25 00
Maryland	-	-	-	-	-	25 00
Ohio	-	-	-	-	-	10 00
Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	10 00

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the Committee,

MAHLON DAY, *Chairman.*

DR.		AMERICAN CONVENTION, &c. IN ACCOUNT WITH JONAS PRESTON, TREASURER.				CR.	
1823.	Paid balance due Abraham L. Pennock, late Treasurer.	\$15	25	1825.	Received 4 dividends of \$20 each, on 8 shares Philadelphia Bank stock.	80	00
12th. Mo.				18th. Mo.			
9th,	— Benjamin Lundy,	10		19th,			
12th,				1826.			
1826.				9th. Mo.	Received of Henry Troth, treasurer of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, amount of two drafts, \$30 and \$40,	70	00
1st. Mo.	— Atkinson, & Alexander,	37	75	14th,			
17th,				1827.			
11th. Mo.	— Benjamin Lundy,	10		10th. Mo.	Received 3 dividends, of \$20 each, 2 payable in 1826 and 1 in 1827,	60	00
10th,				5th.			
12th. Mo.	— S. Eckstein,	27					
20th,							
1827.							
3d. Mo.	— Benjamin Lundy,	43					
10th,							
7th. Mo.	— E. P. AtLee,	2	76				
6th,							
16th,	— Atkinson, & Alexander,	10	50				
	Balance due in the Treasury,	53	70				
		\$210	00			\$210	00

Certificates for eight shares of stock in the Philadelphia Bank, held in the name of Thomas P. Cope, former Treasurer of the Convention, are now in the hands of the present Treasurer.

F. E.

JONAS PRESTON.

Examined and approved—On behalf of the Committee,  
THOMAS SHIPLEY, JOSEPH PARKER.



The report was unanimously adopted, and the respective Associations are requested to forward the quotas above stated, as soon as convenient.

The committee on Amendments, reported as follows:

The committee to whom was referred the several resolutions relative to the amendments of the Constitution of the American Convention, and relative to the adjournment of this session, Report,

That in their opinion the following amendments should be made to the Constitution, viz. That section 1st of article 2nd, be amended by striking out "*Philadelphia*," and introducing in place thereof *Washington, D. C.* And striking out "*first*," and introducing *second*; and making "*October*" read *December*. So that the article will read thus—

The Convention shall meet biennially, in the city of Washington, D. C. on the second Tuesday in December. It may adjourn from time to time, to such place as it may deem proper, and may be specially convened, as is hereinafter provided.

The committee also recommend the following resolution—

*Resolved*, That when this Convention adjourn, it do adjourn to meet in the city of Baltimore, on the first Monday of November, 1826.

On behalf of Committee,

JONAS PRESTON, *Chairman*.

Which report and resolution were adopted.

The following resolutions were read and adopted—

1. By David Brown.—

*Resolved*, That the acting committee be authorized to open a correspondence with the "African Institution," and other anti-slavery societies in Great Britain, and invite an exchange of information, relative to the important and mutual objects contemplated by our respective institutions.

2. By Robert Bond.—

*Resolved*, That the Acting Committee be authorized when the funds may permit, to obtain copies of the best *works* and *tracts* on slavery and slave labor, for the use of this Convention.

3. By Jesse W. Newport.—

*Resolved*, That the Treasurer be directed to place in the

archives of the Convention, 5 copies of the minutes of the present and each succeeding session, and at least one copy of each work which shall be subscribed for by this Convention.

4. By Joseph C. Dawes.—

*Resolved*, That this Convention recommend to the friends of emancipation, the instruction of colored children, by the establishing of Sabbath schools, or any other means which they may think most advisable.

5. By Isaac Pierce.—

*Resolved*, That a copy of each of the periodical or other publications, subscribed for, on account of the Convention, or presented to it by the editors or publishers thereof, so far as they are unappropriated, be furnished the president of the Convention, and the secretary of each of the societies represented in this Convention.

The following resolution was offered by J. Parker, and read—  
*viz*:

*Resolved*, That article II. section 1st, of the constitution, be altered by striking out the words, “in the city of Philadelphia on the 1st Tuesday in October,” and inserting, on the 2nd Monday in December; and the places of meeting shall be alternately in the cities of Philadelphia and Washington, D. C.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to William Rawle, Esq. for the patient and dignified manner in which he presided over its several sittings.

On motion, adjourned *sine die*.

## MEMORIALS

FROM THE AMERICAN CONVENTION.

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*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled.*

The Memorial of the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race, respectfully sheweth:

That your memorialists, acting in accordance with the designs of their Association, and prompted by their love of country and the paramount obligations of Christianity, earnestly solicit your attention to the condition of the population of the territory over which your honorable body holds exclusive jurisdiction. More than half a century has elapsed since the representatives of the American States, in Congress assembled, declared to the world, as "self-evident truths: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." But that Congress, one of the greatest and most dignified bodies the world ever beheld, having but limited jurisdiction, were unable to do more than to proclaim these truths, as the basis of the government they were about to establish. The Constitution since framed, has delegated no authority to the General Government to enforce their views in relation to slavery, existing in any of the States; but that instrument, so far as it respects the District of Columbia, has invested Congress with an unrestrained privilege.

To this spot the eyes of the friends of equal rights are directed: to this spot the patriot, the philosopher, and the statesman, look for that perfect system of laws which at once develop the wisdom of the Government, display the justice and benevolence of its policy, and exhibit a practical illustration of the principles proclaimed in our declaration of independence.

Within this District, however, slavery yet exists; many of the African race, purchased for a distant market, are concentrated here, where the sounds of the clanking fetters mingle with the voice of American statesmen, legislating for a free people!

We, therefore, most respectfully, but most earnestly, entreat

your attention to the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia; and especially we solicit that your honorable body may designate a period by law, after which no child, born within the District, shall be held to be a slave. We respectfully submit that the honor of our common country, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind, and the strong injunctions of Christianity, alike call for your interference upon this momentous subject.

WM. RAWLE, *President.*

EDWIN P. ATLEE, *Secretary.*  
Philadelphia, Oct. 1827.

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States,  
in Congress assembled:*

The American Convention for promoting the abolition of slavery and improving the condition of the African race, most respectfully represent:

That an opportunity is now offered, in which, without violating any supposed private rights, or encroaching upon any state sovereignty, the exalted principles of liberty, on which our constitution was founded, may be fully displayed and enforced by your honorable body.

The eminent rank, which these United States have so rapidly attained among nations, is mainly attributable to the high dignity and undeviating rectitude of their public proceedings—to the equal rights and uninvaded freedom of their citizens. Our enemies can cast on us but one reproach, but, of that reproach they are not sparing. Why, they ask, if all men are born free and equal, is the slavery of so large a portion of your inhabitants still continued among you? To this enquiry no better answer can be given than, that at the period of our political emancipation, the situation of many of the Southern States was supposed to render the measure of domestic emancipation dangerous, if not impracticable. Yet those who had the misfortune to be subjected to this evil, would willingly have commuted a species of precarious and artificial property for any other more substantial in itself, and more consonant with their own moral feelings. It has since been the

frequent effort of Southern legislation to diminish the quantity of the evil which, it was supposed, could not wholly be removed. Hence their concurrence in the suppression of the slave trade, and hence, in some instances, their refusal to admit slaves from other states into their own precincts. In all similar efforts, we doubt not that the legislature of the United States would accordingly co-operate, but the defect of power sometimes impedes the wishes of benevolence and the dispensations of justice.

Aware that however consonant the opinions of your honorable body on this subject may be with our own, your constitutional powers are thus limited, we abstain from preferring any request to which you cannot accede; but we respectfully submit that in the late acquisition of an extensive tract, in a great part yet unsettled, the absolute dominion and internal regulation of which belong to Congress alone, the trial might be made, whether a southern latitude necessarily requires the establishment of domestic slavery; or whether in the Territory of Florida, as well as in other places, the cultivation of land, and the general prosperity of the country, would not be eminently promoted by the use of free labor alone. If the few persons who are already settled there, desire to retain their fellow creatures in bondage, let the example of the superior productiveness of free labor be set before their eyes, and let Congress avail itself of the happy opportunity to elevate the Territory itself to a pinnacle of prosperity, while it supports our national character, in the preservation of human rights and consistent justice.

Another consideration may be added to the foregoing. The extensive unsettled coast of this Territory, and its vicinity to the West India Islands, render the evasion of the existing laws against the slave trade easy—whereas, if it were settled by a free yeomanry, it would form an effectual barrier to such illicit trade, and a strong protection to the slave holding states against the invasion of a foreign enemy.

Our most respectful request is, that Congress will be pleased to prohibit, by law, the further introduction of slaves into the Territory of Florida.

WM. RAWLE, *President.*

EDWIN P. ATLEE, *Secretary.*

*Philadelphia, Oct. 1837.*

## COMMUNICATIONS.

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FROM THE NEW YORK MANUMISSION SOCIETY.

*To the American Convention for promoting the abolition of Slavery and improving the condition of the African race, at its session to be held in Philadelphia, 1827.*

In making their customary address to the American Convention, the New York Society for promoting the manumission of slaves and protecting such of them as have been, and may be liberated, have but one new fact of importance to communicate.

On the fourth day of July last, slavery ceased to exist in the State of New York. It is no longer authorised by our statute book.

For the encouragement of Abolition Societies, in slave holding States, we would observe, that this desirable object has been effected, principally, by the persevering efforts of this society. Though we feel that this event in our history is a fit subject for congratulation, yet we are far from holding ourselves excused from co-operating with benevolent individuals and associations in our sister States, in endeavors to accomplish the gradual, but final abolition of slavery in our common country. We are aware that this abolition must be produced by State Legislation; and we disclaim any constitutional right to interfere with the legislation of sister States, on this or any other subject relating to their internal concerns.

The individuals composing this society, feel, however, that we have a right to avail ourselves of that friendly communication which exists between all the citizens of this National Commonwealth, and that sympathy of feeling, and commerce of ideas, consequent upon such communication, to reason with our fellow citizens, on this, and every other subject of moral and political interest. By the diligent yet kind and respectful exercise of this right, as well by oral communication, as through the medium of the press, the friends of abolition in the free states, may, it is thought, be able to exercise a salutary influence on the public sentiment in the slave holding states—an influence which will not be long in finding its way to the legislatures of these states, and there producing at first a melioration, and ultimately a termination, of the evil complained of.

Daily experience convinces us, that under the popular forms of government, adopted in the United States, we have no right to expect, however reasonable such an expectation might be, that legislative bodies will pass laws proposing any important changes in existing establishments or habits, though such changes should be recommended by every principle of justice and humanity, unless their propriety be first indicated by public sentiment. To correct this sentiment, therefore, on the right of holding human beings in slavery, as it exists in slaveholding communities, by the publication of facts and arguments, shewing a comparison between free and slave labor, as it effects the interest of those who employ the one or the other, and by repeated statements of the political, moral, and religious considerations, opposed to the practice of slavery, should, it is believed, form the principle business of societies represented in the Convention.

As a means of communication in the manner above stated, we recommend the establishment of Abolition Societies in the slaveholding States. Such Societies will serve as rallying points for sound principles. The number recently formed in North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, are subjects of congratulation and encouragement. We hope that some, or all, of these societies may be represented in the Convention, at the coming session, and learn from actual communication with the members of this body, that we are not, as we have been slanderously reported, wild enthusiasts, who are disposed, without regard to consequences, to produce a sudden emancipation of all the slaves in the country. In connection with the subject of disseminating intelligence, we would mention with warm approbation the formation of a company in Baltimore, for the purpose of furnishing a capital to aid the publication of the paper styled the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, printed in that city, and to give this useful paper more extensive circulation, and also for the purpose of publishing and circulating tracts on the subject of slavery. This Society is earnestly and respectfully recommended to the notice and patronage of the Convention; but it is suggested that all its members ought to be inhabitants of slave holding States, for reasons which will be obvious to the Convention.

Since the last meeting of the Convention, this Society has

adopted some proceedings, consisting of the appointment of a committee, who have corresponded with a number of distinguished individuals in this country, with a view to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. We hope that the Convention may see fit to prosecute this subject with vigor. It would afford us much pleasure to learn that the Convention has adopted a memorial to Congress, requesting that body to enact laws providing for an immediate or gradual abolition of slavery in this National District, as they in their wisdom may think best; and that such memorial will be forwarded by a respectable and intelligent agent, employed by the Convention. The propriety of obtaining from the legislatures of all the States that will make a favorable expression of their opinion on this subject, in the form of instructions to their representatives in Congress, has been suggested to this Society by most respectable authority, and is submitted to the Convention.

The schools, under the charge of the Society, are yet continued, and contain at present 260 girls, and 320 boys.

The officers for the present year, are:

Cadwallader D. Colden, *President*.

George Newbold, *1st Vice President*.

Peter Augustus Jay, *2nd Vice President*.

Goold Brown, *Secretary*.

Thomas Hale, *Assistant Secretary*.

Richard Mott, Jr. *Register*.

#### STANDING COMMITTEE.

Barney Corse, *Chairman*.

Edmund Haviland, *Secretary*.

#### BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

Michael M. Titus, <i>Chairman</i> ,	Thomas Hale,
Joseph W. Corleis, <i>Secretary</i> ,	Richard Field,
Robert C. Cornell,	Robert Hicks,
Ira Clizbe,	David S. Brown,
Mahlon Day,	Joseph Corleis,
William W. Mott,	Isaac Hatch,
William F. Mott,	Willet Seaman,
Peter S. Titus,	William L. Stone,
Borden Chase,	Samuel Falconer,



Isaac Sherwood,  
Thomas Leggett, Jr.

William Lawton,  
Thomas P. Bowne.

**COUNSELLORS.**

C. D. Colden,  
Benjamin Clark,  
Peter A. Jay,  
William Slosson,

William Johnson,  
Thomas A. Emmett,  
Hiram Ketchum,  
Ira Clizbe.

**COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE.**

Dr. John Stearns, *Chairman*,  
Wm. L. Stone, *Secretary*,  
Ira Clizbe,

Abram L. Cox,  
Joseph Blunt,  
Hiram Ketchum,

**COMMITTEE OF WAYS AND MEANS.**

Joseph Corleis, *Chairman*,  
Wm. C. White, *Secretary*,  
John B. Wright,

William L. Ferris,  
Henry Haydock,  
Richard Mott, Jr.

**DELEGATES TO THE CONVENTION THIS YEAR.**

William L. Stone,  
Aaron Leggett,  
Mahlon Day,

Harvey Shotwell,  
Evan Lewis.

**CADWALLADER D. COLDEN, *President*.**

**THOMAS HALE, *Assistant Secretary*.**

**FROM THE PENNSYLVANIA ABOLITION SOCIETY.**

*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of  
Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race.*

In addressing you at this time, we feel animated by the continued advances made in the Christian world by the principles of civil liberty; and although the continent of South America continues to be distracted by faction, yet considerable progress has been made in the march of freedom; personal liberty is now considered, in that extensive country, as the natural right of man; slavery has been abolished in some of the states, and the slave trade in all. In the empire of Austria too, by an imperial edict, slavery is for ever abolished.—And, though little has been done of late years, to lessen the evil in the United States, we sincerely

hope that those who have associated themselves in the sacred cause of promoting the abolition of slavery, will not suffer themselves to be discouraged or to become lukewarm in their efforts, in consequence of the opposition they meet with from the interested and the prejudiced. The progress of liberty in this country, though slow, is sure, and thousands of individuals have been associated in the several states within a short period, to accelerate its march.

This society being incorporated, not only to promote the abolition of slavery, but to protect the rights of free persons of color, and to improve their condition, by all laudable means, its duties are arduous and responsible, and require our unwearied efforts for the protection of their personal freedom: without which, life is but a tedious existence. Our worthy ancestors, more effectually to secure this invaluable privilege, have guaranteed to us the trial by Jury, and the writ of Habeas Corpus. It is however believed that, contrary to the intentions of the immortal framers of our constitutions, by virtue of an act of Congress, a person arrested as a slave, either white or colored, may be carried off from any State, on an ex parte examination, by the decision of a single Judge.

As this is a subject of the utmost importance, we respectfully invite your especial attention to its investigation. Next in importance to the protection of personal freedom, we consider the acquisition of useful knowledge; without which, the human mind has been aptly compared to marble in the quarry. We rejoice in the prospect that, from the liberal views and wise provisions of the comptrollers of our public schools, together with the schools established by societies and individuals, for their benefit, the children of indigent colored persons will, ere long, enjoy more fully the blessings of judicious instruction. The school established many years since, by this society, continues to be well attended and prosperous.

An Institution has for several years existed in this city, entitled "The Shelter," unknown except to its philanthropic female supporters and a few of their friends, in which colored orphan children are received, and when arrived to a suitable age are apprenticed. Owing to the increasing population of poor persons of

color in our city, there is a wide field of labor open, and we regret to learn that the limited funds of this truly benevolent Institution, necessarily contracts the sphere of its usefulness.

Through the aid of our worthy Mayor, Jos. Watson, Esq. kidnapping has received a check, which must have a salutary influence on the perpetrators of that diabolical crime. By his spirited exertions, a number of free persons, who had been sold into slavery, have been restored to liberty; and two of the guilty have been brought to punishment. From the facilities of secreting and transporting the victims, we are fearful, however, that many cases occur, which are never brought to light.

Our society is now engaged in several suits, in distant States, to recover the freedom of kidnapped persons, and to bring the offenders to punishment.

The great increase of manufactories, must occasion an additional demand for laborers; and we believe that the employment in them of free colored persons, under wise regulations, would conduce much to their comfort, and tend to advance them in the estimation of society. The want of constant employment is, no doubt, the cause of many of the evils they suffer.

The African slave trade continues to attract our attention: and we hope the Convention may take into consideration whether any thing can be done, by us, towards effecting its diminution, or extinction. Is it not to be feared that the smuggling of slaves still continues in some of the southern States?

Since the accession of Florida, we have been increasingly anxious, that so fine a country might be saved from the curse of an enslaved population; or, at least, such measures adopted, as would prevent its increase, and promote its abolition. Perhaps an address to Congress from the Convention, on the subject, might be advantageous.

The domestic slave trade, will, no doubt, be a prominent subject in your deliberations. We conceive it to be a cruelty, scarcely equalled by the enormities of the African slave trade, and for which our land cries aloud to Heaven for judgment. How very inconsistent are we, to punish the foreign slave trader as a pirate, while we justify the domestic trader, by positive law! Can we for a moment, close our eyes to its demoralizing effects upon the

victims and the traders themselves?—It is the very parent of kidnapping: That such a barbarous violation of Christianity, and even the common decencies of life, should have been practiced in this age, will be looked at, by our posterity, with as much surprise, as we now feel that our ancestors could have tolerated the *African* trade.

We regret, sincerely, that slavery, in the District of Columbia, still continues to disgrace our National Code; but are not without hope, that the noble efforts now making by the benevolent and virtuous citizens of the District, for its abolition, will be crowned with success.

As the subject of free and slave labor has been, of late, agitating the mind of abolitionists, generally; and believing that the cause of emancipation would be advanced, by bringing the free in competition with the slave laborer; we invite the attention of the Convention thereto.

This Society, as heretofore, has thought it unnecessary to take any part in measures of foreign colonization; at the same time wishing full success to every truly benevolent and disinterested scheme, for improving the condition of the African race.

The abolition of slavery, particularly in the United States, must always be the chief objects of our endeavors. It is a cause which must equally animate the christian and the patriot—and it is our interest, no less than our duty, to spread the blessings of liberty and justice, that mankind may rise and walk in the erect intelligence in which they were created, and war, wrong, and outrage, be forever banished from the earth.

We cannot close our address, without recommending to your notice a periodical paper, published in this city, entitled the "*African Observer*;" also, one published in New York, and edited by a person of color, entitled "*Freedom's Journal*;" both of which, we believe, from their intrinsic merit, as well as for their extensive usefulness, in aiding the cause of the injured African, deserve our warmest support.

We have delegated to your body, as our representatives, William Rawle, Esq. Jonas Preston, M. D. Joseph M. Paul, Benjamin Tucker, Thomas Shipley, Isaac Barton, James Mott, Joseph P.

Norris, Jun. Esq. David Paul Brown Esq. and E. P. AtLee, M. D.  
and append a list of our officers, for the present year.

On behalf of the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and for the improvement of the African race.

THOMAS SHIPLEY, *President, pro tem.*

SAMUEL MASON, JR. *Secretary,*  
*Philadelphia, 9th Mo. (September,) 27, 1827.*

#### OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

William Rawle,—*President.*

Jonas Preston,—*1st Vice President.*

Benjamin Tucker,—*2d Vice President.*

Henry Troth,—*Treasurer.*

Samuel Mason, Jun. } *Secretaries.*

Edwin P. AtLee, }

#### COUNSELLORS.

John Sergeant,

William Rawle, Jr.

David Paul Brown,

John C. Lowber,

Jos. P. Norris, Jr.

Thomas Earle,

} *For the City of Philadelphia.*

Jos. W. Rowland, *Montgomery County.*

Matthias Morris, *Bucks do.*

James Hopkins, *Lancaster do.*

Samuel Edwards, *Delaware, do.*

Samuel Sitgreaves, *Northampton, do.*

#### BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Thomas Shipley,

E. P. AtLee,

Peter Wright,

Thos. Parker, Jr.

Thos. Earle,

Thos. Ridgeway,

Jos. Parker,

John Bouvier,

Marshal Attmore,

Powell Stackhouse.

George Peterson,

Isaac Barton.

#### ELECTING COMMITTEE.

Powell Stackhouse,

Jos. M. Truman,

David Weatherly.

Josh. Todhunter,

Marshal Attmore.

Robert Murphy.

Thomas Earle;  
 Jos. Evans,  
 Wm. Jones,  
 William S. Hallowell,

Wm. J. Kirk.  
 Jesse Stanley,  
 Samuel C. Atkinson;

**FROM THE FREE PRODUCE SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.**

*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery and improving the condition of the African race.*

The approaching meeting of Delegates, from the several Abolition Societies in the United States, affording an opportunity for the suggestion and consideration of any plans for the Abolition of Slavery, the *Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania* deem it a fit occasion to submit to you some of the views which have led to their organization, and which, they believe, to be intimately connected with the great purpose of *Emancipation*.

In contemplating the progress which has been made in the Abolition of Slavery in this country, we are entirely convinced that the beneficent influences of the religion of Christ, and considerations of immutable justice, have solely influenced a large portion of our fellow countrymen, in restoring to their unalienable rights those who were in bondage to them. At the same time, so striking is the disparity in the results which have attended the christian efforts of benevolent men and associations, in different sections of our country—procuring a total abolition in some, while in others solitary instances of emancipation are even of rare occurrence, that we must suppose the general existence of a high moral principle in the former, unfelt in the latter, or recur to auxiliary causes, inferior as to motive, but potent in their consequences, to account for the vast discrepitude which is at present exhibited.

On a careful investigation of the causes which may have conduced to this result, we can perceive none so influential as would be a discovery of the fact, by practical observation, that the labor of slaves is more expensive than that of freemen. And we find, on examination into the situation of the colored population in this country, at the period when they were generally held in bondage, that in those states where the fullest opportunity existed for com-

paring their labor with that of freemen, the work of abolition steadily advanced, until the shackles of the slave were completely severed; while in others, where such opportunities of comparison did not exist, or existed but partially, the cause of emancipation was resisted, or its progress materially retarded.

Directing our attention to the present situation of slavery, we find that several of those now designated as slave states, have been gradually arriving at the conviction that the holding of slaves, for the purposes of labor, is unprofitable. Pursuing, as a means of subsistence and commerce, the cultivation of productions which are raised in contiguous states by freemen, they have severely felt the effects of free competition; and but for a fictitious value given to their slaves, by the demand for them in other states, where the cultivation is of a kind which free labor has not yet competed with, we believe they would be shortly prepared to abandon the system.

The others of those states, raising productions for which, as yet, they possess a monopoly, are not affected by those considerations which elsewhere have produced such valuable impressions and results; their slave labor, whatever it may cost them, is included in the value which they assign to the article they produce; and having no competitors, this value they readily procure.

From the view we have thus taken of this subject, the states last described appear to form the great barrier to a general abolition; the first mentioned being but their purveyors, to afford them their requisite supply of laborers.

From this view, also, it will appear how important it is to bring free into competition with slave labor, in every article of cultivation. It is the great lever, by which this Colossus is to be overturned!

To afford our aid, however humble, in bringing this powerful engine into action, has been the object for which we have associated. To effect such a purpose, it is important to create a demand for free produce—at even an enhanced price—if such advance should be requisite to give a first impulse. The mere determination, however, of any considerable portion of the community, to give a preference to productions of this description, would ensure attention to the demand; and *free labor*, once incited, would pur-

sue its resistless course, spreading and deepening its channels as it advanced.

We are admonished by passing events, that for one of the staples of slave production, that of cotton, a greatly increased and increasing demand has been created by the manufacturing enterprise of our countrymen; which, unless supplied by free cultivators, will tend more firmly to rivet the bonds of the oppressed. We disguise not our apprehensions, that the immediate dependence of our manufactories upon slave labor, for the material they employ, may have the effect to deaden that ardent attachment to the cause of freedom which has long distinguished our free northern states.

Conscientious views have long been operating on the minds of individuals, to deter them from the use of slave productions. The moral axiom is not less true, that *the consumer is the slave holder*, than the commercial one, that "the consumer is the payer of all imposts." Withdraw the consumption, and slavery ceases! It becomes extinct, the moment the consumers will it! Our brethren of the south are aware of this truth, and when we reason with them of slavery, they reply, "We are your factors."

Impressions, however, which lead to a rejection of the use of articles raised by slaves, have been restrained from the fear of appearing to be hostile to their owners. Philanthropists have heretofore approached the subject, by attempting to produce on the mind of the slave holder convictions of the injustice of slavery. But if, after long continued efforts, we have failed to attain any practical result, to the extent desired, it is our duty to bring into action other and stronger incentives, by appealing to his interest.

No means, however, which our Society propose to employ for eradicating the system of slavery, can be materially detrimental to the slave holder. The moment he perceives that a great preference is given to the produce of freemen, he brings his laborers into that condition, and reaps a rich harvest from the transition.

That such gain will assuredly attend this change in the condition of his laborers, is amply demonstrated by the experience of the honorable Joshua Steel in relation to the negroes on three extensive plantations, which belonged to him in Barbadoes; and



that extensive emancipation may be effected with great facility, and entire safety and advantage to the community, has been ably illustrated by that great abolitionist, Thomas Clarkson, whose character for patient investigation, in relation to every subject upon which he writes, and for entire candor in the collecting and exhibition of all the facts having a bearing on the case, have entitled his observations to peculiar regard and attention. Thus the plan of desisting from the produce of slave labor, in its result, is shown to be really productive of benefit to the master, while *the poor slave*, not to be forgotten in this consideration, derives from the exchange, to himself and his posterity, incalculable advantages.

The present, is a day of revived interest on the subject of African wrongs. In England great efforts are now making to procure a remedy for them. Tracts are widely disseminated, showing the evil and impolicy of slavery, and the equity and moral obligation of desisting from the use of its productions. Even those truths, in language adapted to the infantile capacity, are inculcated in the elementary books, placed in the hands of their children : Thus is secured a new generation of philanthropists in that kingdom; and thus may we be assured that, though for a time, wealth, cupidity, national and colonial policy, may parry the energetic attack of her abolitionists, the fate of colonial slavery is sealed : "Let us be up and doing."

To submit to you these considerations, with a copy of our Constitution, and to represent us in your Convention, we have appointed Dr. Joseph Parrish, Joseph Parker, and Jesse W. Newport.

BENJAMIN TUCKER, *Vice President,*

THOMAS M'CLINTOCK, *Secretary.*

Philadelphia, 10th mo. 1st, 1827.

FROM THE DELAWARE ABOLITION SOCIETY.

*To the American Convention or promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race.*

The Delaware Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. in contemplating the approaching call of the Convention, are induced to hope, that from a concentration of views and feelings, and a free interchange of sentiment on the great subject of African emancipation, new energies may be imparted to the different constituent societies, and fresh advocates enlisted in the cause of suffering humanity.

The operations of our society, though of late much circumscribed, we believe have been useful, through the instrumentality of our Acting Committee, in affording protection and comfort to the objects of our care; and however limited those efforts may have been, it furnishes a consoling reflection, if they have rescued but an individual sufferer from wrong and outrage, or diminished, in any degree, the aggregate of human misery.

We contemplate with satisfaction the increasing interest which some of the great European powers have evinced in the abolition of the slave trade: that the laws of the French government have been recently modified, with a view to enforce, more effectually, a compliance with their provisions: that Great Britain, in a late communication through her minister to the Portuguese government, distinctly stated, that she would never sign a treaty with that power, that did not contain an article for the final and total abolition of the slave trade. The result has been not only a complete acquiescence on the part of the latter, to that demand, but also "a pledge to co-operate with the former, for the total extinction of that barbarous traffic throughout the world."

That however remote the extinction of this evil may be, we are induced to believe, that an approximation to the great principles of justice and right, both in communities and nations, is gradually preparing the way for that event; and under the blessing of a kind Providence, will finally result in the complete triumph of humanity.

These cheering reflections are somewhat alloyed, when we turn our eyes to this favored land, where fifty years since, our rulers

proclaimed in emphatic language to the world, that freedom is the inalienable right of all mankind. What a contrast with this declaration is now presented, when nearly two millions of our population are groaning under worse than Egyptian bondage, and the degrading and cruel system is advocated by a large body of our citizens, with a zeal worthy of a better cause.—Such is the inconsistency of man, when avarice and cupidity are suffered to prevail over the dictates of conscience, when reasons of state and doctrines of expediency are admitted in competition with that divine law, of universal obligation, “To do to all men, as we would they should do to us.”

On the other hand, it is consoling to observe the rapid increase of anti-slavery societies throughout our country, and more particularly in some of the slave-holding states, with the establishment of sundry periodical publications of a similar character. In one of these, of a late date, we observe the following: “The editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* congratulates his readers on the certain prospect of success in sustaining this work, notwithstanding the many difficulties necessary to be encountered—advocates of the cause it embraces, are continually increasing, and the number of efficient patrons is steadily augmenting.”

The two schools, mentioned in our last address, continue to afford the opportunity of instruction to a large number of the descendants of Africa.

We have appointed John Wales, Thomas Garrett, Jr. Samuel S. Grubb, and Lea Pusey, our Delegates to the Convention.

The officers of the society, for the present year, are:

John Wales,	<i>President.</i>	
Edward Worrell,	} <i>Vice Presidents.</i>	
John Reynolds,		
William Seal,	<i>Treasurer.</i>	
Samuel Hilles,	<i>Secretary.</i>	
Thomas Garrett, Jr.	} <i>Acting Committee.</i>	
William Chandler,		
E. W. Gilbert,		
Benjamin Webb,		
Benjamin W. Bracken,		

Signed by order of the society.

JOHN WALES, *President.*

SAMUEL HILLES, *Secretary.*

Wilmington, 9th Mo. (September,) 19, 1827.

FROM THE DELAWARE FREE LABOR SOCIETY.

*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race.*

"The Society for the encouragement of Free Labor," being yet in its infancy, can have but little to say on the subject of its operations, in addressing the Convention at this period.

It may, however, not be unacceptable to have our views somewhat more distinctly defined than they are in our Constitution, a copy of which will accompany this communication:

Satisfied in our own minds that on a fair experiment, having for its object a just comparison between the profits of the labor of freemen and the labor of slaves, that the result will appear decidedly in favor of the former; our first object in giving a preference to the one, over the other, is to induce a trial of the experiment among those people, and in those districts, where, from the circumstances by which they are surrounded, opinions of a contrary nature prevail: and we believe that whenever the judgment of the slaveholder is convinced that he would be a gainer by substituting the labor of freemen for that of slaves, such a conviction will lead, in the end, to our ultimate object, which is the same that is sought after by the great body of abolitionists, namely, **UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.**—An opinion, however, seems to prevail among some of our fellow laborers in the work of emancipation, that the giving a preference to the produce of free labor, over that of slaves, carries with it the appearance of a measure of coercion; as though we would say to the holders of slaves: "We do not only refuse to purchase your produce and manufactures, but we will encourage others to follow our example, until we accomplish your ruin;" thus, rather exciting the resentment, than working conviction in the minds, of those whom we would gladly relieve from a heavy burden.—It may be observed, in reply, that we hold out no premium for free goods, by offering an higher price for them than for those produced by slaves; but that when we are about to purchase, and articles are exhibited for sale of equal quality and price, the one grown or manufactured by freemen, the other by slaves, we give a preference to the former; or, in the language of our Constitution, we prefer the produce of free labor

when it can be done without pecuniary sacrifice; and if, by encouraging such a preference, we can create a demand, that shall lead to the trial of an experiment in the southern states, comparing free and slave labor with each other, we believe, at least, that a good work will be accomplished.

In the course of our enquiries on the subject of procuring such free goods as are usually produced by slave labor, it has been ascertained that considerable quantities of raw cotton may be obtained, produced in the slave districts of the United States, untouched by slaves; some of which has been manufactured in this vicinity, and is now on sale, at fair prices.

An attempt has likewise been made to keep up a stock of groceries, uncontaminated by slavery; but it is found that they can not yet be procured in sufficient quantities, at prices to compete with the like articles produced by slave labor, coffee alone excepted.

We have appointed Benjamin Webb, Isaac Pierce, and Lea Pusey, our delegates to the Convention.

The officers of the Society, for the current year, are:

Lea Pusey, *President*,  
 Robert Porter, } *Vice Presidents.*  
 John Reynolds, }  
 William P. Richards, *Secretary.*  
 Charles Canby, *Treasurer.*

Isaac Pierce,  
 Dr. Wm. Gibbons,  
 Rev. F. W. Gilbert,  
 Jos. G. Rowland,  
 Eli Hilles,  
 Benj. Webb. } *Acting Committee.*

Signed by order of the Society,

LEA PUSEY, *President.*

WM. P. RICHARDS, *Secretary.*

Wilmington, 9th Mo. 29th. 1827.

FROM THE ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY OF MARYLAND.

*To the American Convention. &c.*

The Maryland Anti-Slavery Convention with pleasure embrace this present opportunity to communicate with their brethren of otherkindred associations in the United States, through the medium of their delegates, about to meet in General Convention, at Philadelphia. Though we cannot furnish you with information from this quarter that will be as satisfactory as we could wish, still we are pleased to have it in our power to state, that, the great work of universal emancipation is evidently progressing among us—that the minds of the people are becoming more and more awakened to view the subject in its true light, and we have reason to believe the number of its advocates are increasing.

With these few preliminary remarks, the following statement respecting the system of slavery in Maryland, is respectfully submitted to your consideration. Although slavery was unfortunately introduced into the Colony of Maryland soon after its settlement, yet the first legislative act to be found in our statute book, recognising slavery, was passed in the year 1715. One section of that act is as follows:

“All negroes, and other slaves, already imported, or hereafter to be imported into this province, and all children now born, or hereafter to be born of such negroes and slaves, shall be slaves during their natural lives.”

Upon this section, depends the title to all the slaves in Maryland—upon this foundation, the superstructure of slavery has been reared. Slaves continued to be imported into this state, from Africa and elsewhere, until the year 1783, when further importations were prohibited. Until 1752, it appears that owners of slaves were permitted to manumit them, without regard to age or condition, by deed, by last will, and even by verbal declaration. In that year, an act was passed, “prohibiting further manumissions by “last will,” and by “verbal orders.”—It also prohibited the manumission of old and infirm slaves. In 1796, the power of manumission, by last will and testament, was restored to the master. Under the operation of these laws, a large portion of the black population of the State have become free. It appears by the census of 1820, that there were 107,398 slaves, and 39,730 free blacks, in the State.

Slavery implies a total deprivation of social and civil rights, and the laws of Maryland adopt this principle throughout. Marriage, is not recognised among slaves, nor any of the relations depending on matrimony. Although in point of fact, a black man, or a white one, may marry his own slave, yet it is no marriage in law; and he may, at pleasure, sell his wife and her children as slaves; for children inherit the condition of their mother: and a woman may, also, sell her own husband into slavery.

The condition of slavery is considerably ameliorated in Maryland, since the revolution. In general, masters treat their slaves with kindness and humanity. But still, there are many who treat them with great harshness and severity. It is perfectly manifest that, in so large a community, there will always be many unprincipled men, of ferocious tempers and brutal passions, who will maltreat and abuse every body and every thing over whom they have controul; and such persons will, of course, abuse their slaves. It is true a master is liable to be indicted and punished for mal-treating his slave; and so he is for mal-treating his horse. The law affords the same protection to both in all cases, short of destroying life, which, in the case of a slave, may be punished as murder. One of the greatest evils, however, to which the slaves of Maryland are subject, is their liability to be sold to the southern slave traders. The public sentiment, in Maryland, is decidedly opposed to this barbarous and inhuman traffic; but still there are a great many slaveholders who have no compunction of conscience upon the subject, and constantly supply these vultures with their prey. Slaves, also, belonging to intestate estates, are sold at public auction, to the highest bidder; and slaves taken in execution, are sold by Sheriffs in the same way, and are usually bought by these slave traders, for the southern market.—Families are thus forever separated, and a degree of wretchedness and misery is constantly produced, which beggars all description. This trade is extensively carried on from Maryland. These traders have jails, or dens, located in different parts of the State, where the slaves are collected, and then sent off, in droves, to the southern market. When sent by water, they are usually put on board the vessel at night, so as to avoid the public gaze, and prevent examination.—When sent by land, they are chained together in gangs, and driven off

under the lash. This appears to be one of the necessary evils of slavery, which cannot well be prevented, so long as the system itself is continued. One great evil attending this disgraceful traffic, is the facility it affords for kidnapping free negroes, and carrying off slaves entitled to freedom after a term of years. A trader, who has resided twelve months in the State, is at liberty to purchase slaves who have been manumitted to be free after a term of years; and when thus purchased, they are often sent to the southern market, where there is little chance that they will obtain their freedom when their term of servitude is expired. Although the legislature has passed some laws for the protection of the free blacks, still they are liable to much abuse and imposition, without the possibility of redress. A negro cannot be a witness against a white person, in any case.—He cannot prove an account against a white man, or hold him to bail upon his own affidavit.—Hence the blacks have frequently no redress for personal or pecuniary injuries, from the whites. It frequently happens, also, that a free negro will marry a female slave, with the consent of her master. While the woman is bearing children, she will be permitted to live with her husband, and by their joint labors they maintain themselves, and raise a family of children. As soon as the children arrive at an age to be valuable, they are frequently seized on by the master, and sold to the traders. Sometimes the mother also after she has lived as a free person with her husband for years, is claimed as a slave, separated from her husband, and sold. There have been instances where two or three generations of children have been seized and reduced to slavery, by the posterity of the original master, who, no doubt, never intended to reclaim them. This is cruel injustice, and a reproach to the laws of the State. To remedy this evil, several attempts have been made to procure the passage of a law, limiting the time after which the original owner, or those claiming under him, should not reclaim his slave whom he suffered to go at large, or her posterity; but hitherto these attempts never have been successful. There does not seem to be any good reason why a right to a slave should not be barred by a statute of limitation, as well as a right to any other property. It will be impossible to communicate all the evils which slavery has inflicted upon every class of population in Maryland.



By the intelligent and reflecting part of the people, in this State, slavery is considered a sore evil to the whites, as well as the slaves. The intelligent farmers are beginning to be convinced—nay, they are already convinced—that slave labor is the dearest they can employ: and we are of opinion that the time is not distant, when they will be willing to adopt a system of gradual emancipation, such as has been adopted in Pennsylvania and New York, with such happy success.

Within the last three years, eleven associations have been formed in Maryland, the most of which have been represented, as Branches of the Anti-Slavery Society, in a State Convention, that meets annually in the city of Baltimore. The number of persons who have joined in membership, is about five hundred. The chief objects of these associations is, to procure a passage of a law, by the legislature, such as the legislatures of Pennsylvania and New York have passed, fixing a date, after which all children born in the State, shall be free at a certain age. In our opinion, this is the only way in which slavery can ever be eradicated from the state.

In pursuance of a resolution of the last Convention, a memorial to Congress was prepared, and signed by about thirteen hundred of the voters of Baltimore, praying Congress to pass a law for the gradual abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. That memorial was read in Congress, and produced, as we are informed, a very strong sensation. In the debate, which the memorial gave rise to, it was objected, that the people of the District had not petitioned Congress upon the subject; thereby plainly admitting, that if the people of the District should petition, it would be the duty of Congress to take the subject into consideration; and whenever Congress does take the subject into consideration, we have but little doubt that they will pass such a law as is prayed for.

Believing that the labors of the American Colonization Society have some effect in drawing the attention of the people of the United States to the subject of Slavery, and that much good would result from the cultivation of a friendly intercourse, we would suggest the propriety of proposing a correspondence with that in-

stitution, in order to ascertain whether it be practicable to obtain its co-operation in the work of general emancipation.

We now appoint, Daniel Raymond, William Kesley, Benjamin Lundy, David Harryman, David Brown, William E. Coale, Daniel Zollickoffer, Charles E. Baldwin, N. H. Ware, and John Quarless, our delegates to the American Convention, for the present year.

The names of our officers, at this time, are as follows:

David Harryman, *President*.  
 Daniel Zollickoffer, *Vice President*.  
 Henry Mankin, *Recording Secretary*.  
 Nicholas Denboer, *Corresponding Secretary*.  
 William R. Jones, *Treasurer*.

Benjamin Lundy,  
 David Brown,  
 W. Willis Stratton,  
 S. W. Stratton,  
 N. H. Ware,  
 John T. Jones,  
 I. N. Hoopes,  
 W. R. Jones,  
 Aquila Jones,  
 Daniel Raymond,  
 W. H. Morgan,  
 J. I. Thomson,

*Acting Committee.*

Signed by order of the Convention of the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland, held in the City of Baltimore, on the 21st day of September, 1827.

D. HARRYMAN, *President*.

HENRY MANKIN, *Secretary*.

**FROM THE BENEVOLENT SOCIETY OF ALEXANDRIA FOR IMPROVING  
THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE OF COLOR.**

*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of  
Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race, to  
be held in Philadelphia on the 2nd day of the 10th month next.*

**RESPECTED FRIENDS:**

A letter from the Secretary of your Acting Committee, dated the 10th ultimo, inviting us to send delegates to the next meeting of the Convention, to be held in Philadelphia, has been received.

We feel a deep interest in the cause in which you are engaged, and it would give us much pleasure to participate in your deliberations; but not being able to find any among our number, who can at this time conveniently attend, we must content ourselves with giving you, by letter, an account of our proceedings and prospects, in regard to the interesting work of improving the condition of the African race.

Our Society was instituted during the last winter, and now consists of about nineteen members. Its leading objects are: to liberate those who are illegally held in bondage; to improve the condition of the free people of color; and to diffuse among our fellow citizens more just views on the subject of slavery.

In prosecuting the first of these objects, we have wrested from the grasp of the slave traders twelve people of color, who have petitioned for their freedom, and we feel confident will obtain it.

They were all brought from the state of Maryland. Eight of them were arrested here, one at Occoquan, and three at Dumfries.

We have reason to believe that several others, also entitled to freedom, or having a limited time to serve, have passed through this District; but owing to the defectiveness of our laws, and the caution of the traders, they were carried beyond our reach before measures could be taken to arrest them.

In order to improve the condition of the free people of color, some of our members, associated with several other young persons of both sexes, have opened an African Sabbath School, which has now been in operation about two months, and consists of 85 boys and 100 girls. About one-third of this number can

read, and some of them remarkably well, especially those who go to other schools during the week, which is the case with many of them. There are in this town three other Sabbath Schools for colored children—one at the Baptist meeting house, one at the second Presbyterian, and the other at the African Methodist meeting house, all of which are pretty large. The teachers, in the last mentioned school, are nearly all people of color.

The third, but not the least important object of our society—that of diffusing among our fellow citizens more just views on the subject of slavery—we have attempted in some measure to effect, by writing a series of essays on this subject, which were published in the *Alexandria Gazette*, and the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, and some of which have been copied into other prints, both north and west of us. Two of these essays, (Nos. 6 and 10) contain information of a local character, which may not have come into the possession of our brethren generally, at a distance; we therefore forward some of the numbers, for your perusal.

\*The suppression of the domestic slave trade, is a favorite object with all those who have at heart the honor of our country, and the rights of humanity. It has claimed a considerable share of our attention, and our sister society of Washington city, feeling the same interest in it, have agreed to co-operate with us in drawing up a memorial to the Congress of the United States, setting forth the evils and cruelties of this trade, and praying for such redress as they in their wisdom may see fit to grant. We believe that a large majority of our most respectable citizens would sign such a memorial, and that some measure might grow out of it favorable to the cause of humanity.

The abolition of slavery in this District, is an object which we have much at heart; but we believe that it would not be expedient, at present, to ask the citizens of the District to sign a petition to that effect, as it would probably meet with great opposition from some persons here, who have considerable influence. There seems, however, to be a gradual change taking place in public sentiment, which we hope will enable us to attain this desirable end before many years shall pass away; and if the domestic slave trade could, only, be abolished, it would have a powerful tendency to shorten the period. If it were not for this detestable

traffic, those who have a large number of slaves, on poor land, would not long be able to hold them; as it generally takes the whole produce of their labor to clothe and support them; and the only profit of the owner is derived from the sale of the young ones. If this source of profit were cut off, as it soon would be, were there no demand from the south, slavery would have to contend alone against the superior economy of free labor, and would ere long be relinquished in this part of the Union.

The Congress of the United States being invested with the power to regulate commerce among the several states, might, we think, abolish a traffic which not only inflicts great misery on its victims, but tarnishes the national character, and jeopardizes the public safety, by concentrating the most dangerous population in the weakest part of the Union. Their authority to abolish it in this District, cannot be questioned; as, over it, they are invested with the power of exclusive legislation. We would, therefore, solicit the attention of the Convention to this important object, and suggest the propriety of the Anti-Slavery Societies, who may send delegates to the Convention, using their influence with the members of Congress from their several districts, to promote the abolition of the domestic slave trade.

You will perceive from one of the essays now furnished, (No. 11) that we take a warm interest in the colonization of the colored race, either in Hayti or Liberia, but more particularly in the latter place, which we trust is destined to be a secure asylum for many of the colored people of this country, and a school of civilization for the benighted Africans. We have learned, with much regret, that many of the warmest friends of abolition, in the northern States, continue to look upon this colony as a scheme of the slave holders, to remove out of their way the free people of color, in order to hold their slaves the more securely. Some of our members were formerly impressed with the same opinion; but further observation and reflection have convinced us, that there are many good and sincere men among the most active promoters of this work, and whatever may be the motives of others who have joined them, we trust that the effect will prove beneficial to our country. It has already produced some good in this part of the Union, by inducing the slave holders to reflect upon the evils of slavery;



and when the better feelings of the heart are once enlisted in the cause of humanity, the work of emancipation will still go forward, even if the attempt to colonize should prove abortive. We trust you will excuse us for making these observations; but we are fully convinced that the abolition of slavery will be much retarded in this country, by any opposition (however well intended) to the colonization of the colored race. The southern slave holders are not willing that the slaves shall be liberated to remain among us, and every facility that can be afforded for emigration, will lessen the dangers they apprehend from a general emancipation.

As the Convention will probably be possessed of information respecting the foreign and domestic slave trade, that may not have reached us, we shall be glad to hear from you on this subject, or any other that may claim your attention.

We remain very respectfully your friends.

Signed by direction of the Standing Committee,

SAMUEL M JANNEY, *Corresponding Secretary.*

*Alexandria, 9th. Mo. 28th, 1827.*

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FROM THE WASHINGTON ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

*Washington. D. C. October 1st, 1827.*

MR. ISAAC BARTON:

Sir, Your letter, addressed to Jacob Janney, was duly received, and laid before our Society at the last stated meeting. With pleasure we accept the invitation given, and send to represent us in the Convention, to meet in Philadelphia, on the 2d of October, Mr. J. C. Dawes, and Mr. R. H. Neal.

Residing at the Seat of our General Government, we cannot but feel, and that deeply, a regret that slavery, with all its horrors, is countenanced here. We have, therefore, united ourselves in a Society, to use all lawful means in our power to wipe away that stain for which we are reproached by European nations, in suffering this most cruel system to remain among us.

With peculiar pleasure we view the interest manifested in many parts of our country, for the abolition of slavery in this District;

and we would request the Convention to recommend to the Societies which compose that body, and the friends of emancipation generally, to memorialize Congress, at the ensuing session, for the gradual abolition of slavery here.

We are confident that, should the object of the Society gain a strong hold in this District, it would be of incalculable benefit to the cause throughout the Union.—We, therefore, would respectfully suggest to the Convention the propriety of holding its annual meetings in this city, during the sessions of Congress. The delegates would then have opportunities of conversing with members of the national Legislature, and other influential persons, from all parts of the Union, by which means, the views and operations of the friends of emancipation would become more generally known and fairly appreciated.

For any other information, we refer you to our delegates.

JOHN CHALMERS, *President.*

#### FROM THE VIRGINIA CONVENTION.

*To the American Convention, &c. to be held at Philadelphia, on the first Tuesday in October next.*

At the Virginia Convention, held at Goosecreek, on the 20th, 21st, and 22d of August, 1827, for the purpose of promoting the abolition of slavery; besides the transaction of other business, it was resolved, to send delegates to the American Convention; in compliance with which the following persons were appointed to attend, viz:—

Noble S. Braden,  
Benjamin F. Taylor,  
Robert Bond,  
Edward Walker,  
Elisha Fawcett.

JAMES HACKNEY, *President.*

GEORGE SHARP, *Secretary.*

## FROM WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

Agreeably to a resolution of a former meeting, delegates from several Abolition and Manumission Societies met at Washington Pa. on the 5th of June, 1827.

On motion, *Resolved*, that the Rev. Charles Wheeler be appointed President, and John McCormick Secretary, of this meeting.

*Resolved*, That David Hilles, Charles Wheeler, and John Graham, be appointed delegates, from this Association, to attend the American Convention, at Philadelphia, in October next.

Extracted from the minutes of the aforesaid meeting.

CHARLES WHEELER, *President*.

JOHN MC CORMICK, *Secretary*.

*To the Twentieth biennial stated meeting of the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery and improving the condition of the African race, to be held in Philadelphia.*

We the Committee, appointed by the General Association, composed of delegates from the different Abolition Societies in western Pennsylvania, in reporting our views on the important subject of Universal Emancipation, deem it proper to inform the Convention, that it is only between three and four years, since the subject began to claim the serious attention of our citizens, and the first Society was formed: and for near two years its movements were not extended much farther than to attend to individual cases, and the acquirement of information: but since that time, a more lively interest has manifested itself; and committees have been appointed to draw the attention of the public more generally to the objects of our association. These Committees have attended meetings in divers places, and delivered lectures on the magnitude of the evil of slavery, not only in a moral and religious, but also in a political point of view, setting forth the practicability and advantages of Universal Emancipation, and showing that the objections advanced against it are imaginary, and not real.—By this means, the number of societies, in this and the adjacent counties, have increased to ten or twelve, several of which are large and in a prosperous situation, and more are forming. These move-



ments have had great influence on the public mind, by exciting, even among those who have not joined the societies, a lively interest in the cause.

We view the cause of emancipation as one, which above all other political considerations, is worthy the serious attention of the American people.—One which, owing to the deep and lasting interest this Union would derive from its accomplishment, deserves our hearty co-operation and support.

The inconsistency, impolicy, and wickedness of the slave system, is receiving, and will we trust eventually receive, that universal execration, which it so justly merits; seeing the different religious denominations are uniting their endeavors, to remove this foul stain from our national character, and to eradicate this gross inconsistency from the Christian name. The magnitude of the evil is becoming so great, that those who are blind, respecting the rights of others, must see; and those who are deaf, to the cries of the oppressed, will be aroused by a sense of their own danger.—And we hope that, under the divine blessing, the moral influence, which is extending over our highly favored country, will continue to spread, until this species of unjust and aggravated oppression shall cease to exist: for a general revolution in public sentiment has commenced, is progressing, and must eventually triumph.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

JESSE KENWORTHY.

JEHU LEWIS.

FROM THE SALEM ABOLITION AND COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race, to meet in Philadelphia, on the 2nd day of October, 1827.*

At a meeting of the Salem Abolition and Colonization Society of Columbiana county, Ohio, held the 4th of September, 1827—

A letter addressed to Benjamin Stanton, by Isaac Barton Corresponding Secretary of the American Convention, being laid before the society, containing a notice of the next session of the

Convention, with a request that this society be represented therein, the following resolutions were adopted:

*Resolved*, That it is expedient that this society be represented in the next session of the American Convention for promoting the abolition of slavery and improving the condition of the African race.

*Resolved*, That David Scholfield be appointed a delegate, to represent this society, as aforesaid.

Extracted from the minutes, by order of the meeting.

BENJAMIN STANTON, *Secretaru pro. tem.*

#### FROM THE COLUMBIANA ABOLITION SOCIETY

*New Lisbon, September 27th, 1827*

MR. ISAAC BARTON:

Sir—The Acting Committee of the Columbiana Abolition Society were favored, through the kindness of Mr. Richardson, with a communication from you, containing a request that our society would send delegates to the next session of the American Convention, at Philadelphia. The committee, in consideration thereof, had a meeting; but from the near approach of the Convention, it was found impossible to have a meeting of the society called, and delegates appointed, seasonably to attend.

The committee, however, feel confident in saying, that our society will not, hereafter, be lacking in a due attention: and that though it cannot now, by its delegates, participate in the deliberations of that philanthropic body, still its feelings and best wishes will be with it, in every act which will in the least tend to meliorate the condition of the debased and despised slave,

I am, very respectfully, yours, &c.

ANSON L. BREWER,

*Cor. Sec. Columbiana Abolition Society.*

**MINUTES**  
**OF THE**  
**ADJOURNED SESSION**  
**OF THE TWENTIETH BIENNIAL**  
**AMERICAN CONVENTION**  
**FOR PROMOTING THE**  
**ABOLITION OF SLAVERY,**  
**AND IMPROVING**  
**THE CONDITION OF THE AFRICAN RACE,**  
**HELD AT BALTIMORE, NOV. 1828.**

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**Philadelphia :**  
**PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE CONVENTION.**  
***Samuel Parker, Printer.***  
.....  
**1828.**



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

*President of the Penna<sup>a</sup> Society for  
promoting the Abolition of Slavery &c.*

# MINUTES.

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HALL OF THE ATHENÆUM,  
*Baltimore, Nov. 3d, 1838.*

10 o'clock, A. M.

Pursuant to adjournment, Convention met. Present 17 delegates, viz:

*From New York,*

Israel Corse, Mahlon Day, Edmund Haviland.

*Eastern Pennsylvania.*

Thomas Shipley, E. P. AtLee.

*Maryland.*

Wm. E. Coale,	Wm. R. Jones,
David Brown,	Wm. E. Bartlett,
B. Lundy,	Samuel Wilson,
John Needles,	Joseph Davenport,
Abraham Sliver,	Ephraim Gardner.

*District of Columbia.*

Thomas Levering, F. Burke.

The Secretary E. P. AtLee having given information of the absence of the President and Vice President; on motion, the Convention proceeded to elect by ballot a President pro tempore—Thomas Shipley and Wm. R. Jones being appointed Tellers—reported Thomas Shipley duly elected President pro tempore.

Communications were received and read, viz: From New York Manumission Society; from the Maryland Anti-Slavery Convention; from Baltimore Society for the Protection of Free People of Color; from the Washington D. C. Abolition Society; from the National Anti-Slavery Tract Society; from the general Association of the Manumission Society of North Carolina; and from the Manumission Society of Tennessee.

From which communications, together with certificates presented, it appears that the following are the Delegates appointed by the several Societies to represent them at this Session, viz:

*New York Manumission Society.*

Evan Lewis,	Israel Corse,
Mahlon Day,	Edmund Haviland,
Aaron Leggett.	

*Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c.*

Wm. Rawle,	D. P. Brown,
Jonas Preston,	J. P. Norris, Jr.
J. M. Paul,	Edwin P. AtLee,
Thomas Shipley,	Isaac Barton,
James Mott,	Benjamin Tucker.

*Maryland.*

*Anti-Slavery Society Convention.*

Daniel Raymond,	D. Harryman,
Wm. Kesley,	D. Brown,
Wm. E. Coale,	S. H. Matthews,
Henry Mankin,	E. J. Markland,
John S. Reese,	David Preston.

*Baltimore Society for the Protection of Free People of Color.*

Thomas Matthews,	Samuel Wilson,
Wm. E. Bartlett,	Joseph Davenport,
Ephraim Gardner.	

*National Anti-Slavery Tract Society of Maryland.*

Benjamin Lundy,	Abraham Sliver,
John Needles,	Wm. R. Jones.

*Washington Abolition Society, D. C.*

Francis Burke, Samuel Meyers, Thomas Levering.

Satisfactory excuses were offered for the absence of the Vice President D. Raymond, Esq. and Evan Lewis, of New York.

The following resolution presented by B. Lundy was read and adopted:

*Resolved*, That the present Session of this Convention be held with open doors, and that spectators be freely admitted during its sittings.

On motion of W. E. Coale, the following persons were appointed the Committee of Arrangement, viz.

W. E. Coale,	Thomas Levering,
Mahlon Day,	Wm. E. Bartlett,
David Brown,	Wm. R. Jones.
John Needles,	

Mahlon Day having presented an address to the Convention from George R. Allen on behalf of the New York African Free School, it was read, as well as specimens of poetry from two scholars of the same school.

On motion, the address and specimens above alluded to were ordered to be noticed in the general address of this Convention, to the different Abolition, Manumission, and Anti-Slavery Societies throughout the United States

Several other specimens of composition and drawing being presented, were

On motion, referred to the Committee of Arrangement.

Then adjourned to 7 o'clock this evening.

*7 o'clock, P. M.*

Convention met. *Present*, T. Shipley President pro tem. in the chair.

Messrs. Corse,	Bartlett,	Lundy,
Haviland,	Gardner,	Sliver,
Day,	Coale,	Jones,
AtLee,	Brown,	Burke,
Levering,	Holmes.	

H. Mankin, from the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland, took his seat.

A communication was received and read from the Virginia Convention. The delegates appointed by that Convention, are Daniel Janney, Samuel Brown, Josiah Fawcett, David Smith,

Christian Holmes, Robert Bond, William Holmes, Isaac Pidgeon, Joseph Hackney and Thomas Wright;

Of whom William Holmes alone attended.

The communication was referred to the Committee of Arrangement.

The minutes of the Acting Committee were read and approved.

An Address from the Benevolent Society of Alexandria, was received, read, and referred to the Committee of Arrangement.

Also, one from the National Anti-Slavery Tract Society, which being read, was referred to the same Committee.

A Report in part, was presented by the Committee of Arrangement, and being read, was considered and adopted as follows:

The Committee of Arrangement appointed by the American Convention, &c. beg leave to report in part, the adoption of the following Resolutions, viz.

1. *Resolved*, That the several Addresses from Anti-Slavery, Manumission, Protection Societies, &c. be printed in the Minutes of the Convention.

2. *Resolved*, That the following amendments to the Constitution, proposed at the last session, viz. That Section 1st of Article 2nd, be amended by striking out "Philadelphia," and introducing in place thereof, Washington, D. C. and striking out "first," and introducing *second*; and making "October," read December, so that the article will read thus:—The Convention shall meet biennially, in the City of Washington, D. C. on the second Tuesday in December. It may adjourn from time to time, to such place as it may deem proper, and may be specially convened, as is hereinafter provided, ——— be now considered.

3. *Resolved*, That this Convention, memorialise Congress, respecting Slavery in the District of Columbia.

4. *Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to prepare an address to the several Abolition and Manumission Societies in the United States, requesting them to have memorials signed



by as many of the citizens of their vicinity as practicable, and forwarded to Congress, praying the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

5. *Resolved*, That the Committee appointed to make enquiry and report to this session, what experiments have been heretofore made, and are now making, on the American Continent and Islands, in relation to the cultivation of the products of Cotton, Rice, Sugar, Tobacco, &c. by free labor; or by Slaves, whose condition has been so meliorated as to approach the condition of freemen, shewing what is the relative advantages between free and slave labor:—be now called on to report.

6. *Resolved*, That the subject of preparing and proposing a plan for the gradual Abolition of Slavery, be considered by the Convention in Committee of the whole.

WILLIAM ELLIS COALE, *Chairman*

On motion, the 1st item was adopted.

The 2nd item was also adopted.

The 3d item was also adopted.

The 4th item was adopted.

The Chairman of the Committee appointed at the last session on the subject contained in the 5th item, reported the fulfilment of that duty at a subsequent sitting. The Committee were therefore continued.

The 6th item was also adopted.

The following Resolution offered by Thomas Levering, was read and adopted, viz.

*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to take into consideration the Laws of the several States relative to Slaves and free people of Color, and report whether any and what steps it may be proper for the Convention to take in relation thereto. The Committee are Thomas Shipley, Thomas Levering, David Brown and Francis Burke.

The subjoined Resolutions offered by J. Needles, were read and ordered to be laid on the table.

*Resolved*, That the following articles be added to the Bye Laws of the Convention; and that at every session of the Con-

vention, the following Standing Committees shall be appointed by the Convention and continued during its recess.

1st. A Committee on the African Slave Trade.

2nd. A Committee on Internal Slave Trade.

3rd. A Committee on the state of Slavery in the United States.

4th. A Committee on the Laws of the United States, in relation to Slaves and free people of Color.

5th. A Committee to prepare an Address to the several Societies composing the Convention, on the state of Slavery in the United States.

Adjourned to 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

*November 4th, 10 o'clock, A. M.*

Convention met. *Present*, Thomas Shipley, President pro tem. in the chair.

Messrs. Corse,	Wilson,	Jones,
Haviland,	Davenport,	Burke,
Day,	Gardner,	Levering,
AtLec,	Brown,	Holmes,
Bartlett,	Lundy,	S. H. Matthews,
	Parker.	

Joseph Parker from the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania, and S. H. Matthews, from the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland, appeared, and as above noticed took their seats.

The following resolutions presented by M. Day, were read and adopted, viz.

Whereas Joseph Watson, Esq. late Mayor of the city of Philadelphia, and Samuel P. Garrigues, one of the chief Police Officers of that city, by their unwearied efforts have restored to their friends and homes, a number of Free People of Color, kidnapped from the State of Pennsylvania, and have brought to condign punishment several of the criminals engaged in that nefarious business:

*Therefore Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution, signed by

the President and Secretary, be presented by the Secretary to each of those gentlemen.

The second Report of the Committee of Arrangement as follows, was read, &c.

*To the American Convention.*

The Committee of Arrangement beg leave to make a further report of subjects claiming your attention:

1st. *Resolved*, That the Papers No. 9 and 10, be published in the proceedings of the Convention.

2. *Resolved*, That the Convention has observed with great satisfaction the efforts of the Editor of the "*Journal of the Times*," a Weekly Paper published in Bennington, Vermont, to aid the cause of liberty; and recommends that the acting committee be directed to subscribe for 5 copies of said paper.

3. *Resolved*, That this Convention recommends to the several Societies for the Abolition of Slavery, &c. to give encouragement to such Editors of Periodical Works, as may evince their determination to assist in abolishing Slavery.

4. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to take into consideration the Domestic Slave Trade, and report what measures will be proper for this Convention to take in relation to it: also such particulars as they can collect, and judge expedient to be made public.

5. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to prepare an Address to the several Anti-Slavery and Manumission Societies in the United States.

6. *Resolved*, That the Constitution be so amended that the 1st sec. of Art. 2d, read as follows, "meet biennially on the 2d Monday in January."

MAHLON DAY, Chairman pro tem.

The above report and resolutions were severally adopted.

To fulfil the duties of the Committee recommended in the 4th resolution of the Report, the following persons were appointed:

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*Twentieth Convention/1021*

Francis Burke, E. Haviland, H. Mankin, and Joseph Davenport.

On motion, T. Shipley was chosen chairman of the committee.

The Committee appointed to attend to the duties of the 5th resolution, are as follows:

E. Haviland,                      S. H. Mathews,  
W. R. Jones,      and      Joseph Parker.

The following resolution presented by M. Day, was read and adopted, viz.

*Resolved*, That the acting committee be directed to have 1000 copies of the minutes of the present session of the Convention printed, and distributed to the several Anti-Slavery Societies, and to such persons and Societies as they may think proper.

The subjoined resolution offered also by M. Day, was read and ordered to lay over till next session:

*Resolved*, That the sum of                      dollars be appropriated to defray the expense of publishing Books, Pamphlets and Tracts, that may have a tendency to enlighten and correct public opinion on the subject of Slavery in the United States, and that the acting committee of this Convention be requested to select, publish, and distribute them as they may judge expedient.

The subjoined extract from the Treasurer's account was read:—

DR.

THE AMERICAN CONVENTION, IN ACCOUNT WITH JONAS PRESTON, TREASURER.

CR.

1827.				1828.	By balance from last account,	\$ 53	70
10th Mo.				2d Mo.			
30th.	To cash paid John Letchworth,	\$ 10		25th.	By cash of Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland,	25	
11th Mo.	Do. E. P. Atlee,	3	15	3d Mo.	Do. Abolition Society of Pennsylvania,	50	
10th.				22d.			
12th Mo.	Do. Enoch Lewis,	10		10th Mo.	Do. New York Manumission Society,	50	
7th.	Do. Geo. M. Stroud,	50		23d.			
11th.							
1828.							
1st Mo.	Do. Freedom's Journal,	5					
25th.							
2d Mo.	Do. Benjamin Lundy,	81	98				
25th							
3d Mo.	Do. Joseph Marot,	4	50				
27th.							
5th Mo.	Do. Benjamin Lundy,	5					
17th.							
10th Mo.							
24th.	Balance in the Treasury,	9	07				
		\$178	70			\$178	70

Errors excepted.

Philadelphia, 10th Mo. 24th, 1828.

J. PRESTON.

M. Day offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That a committee be now appointed to examine the Treasurer's account, and report what sums may be necessary to be raised for the current expenses of the Convention, and to apportion it on the respective societies in connexion with the Convention.

The committee are Israel Corse, T. Shipley, Joseph Parker, John Needles, Joseph Davenport, William Holmes, and T. Levering.

On motion, Joseph Parker was added to the committee of Arrangement.

On motion T. Levering was added to the acting committee for Washington, D. C. and William Holmes, for Virginia.

The following resolution offered by M. Day, was read and laid over to be acted on next session:

*Resolved*, That so much of the Constitution in Art. 3d, Sec. 4th, as reads thus "one of them shall reside in Philadelphia and have charge of the records," be stricken out.

As agents to distribute the minutes of the Convention, the following persons were appointed, viz.

*For New York*—Thomas Hale.

*Maryland*—Benjamin Lundy.

*District of Columbia*—Thomas Levering.

*Alexandria*—S. M. Janney.

*South Carolina, Georgia & Alabama*—E. Haviland, 306 Pearl street, N. Y.

*North Carolina*—B. Swalm.

*Tennessee*—J. Jones.

On motion, to give time for Committees—adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

7 o'clock, P. M.

Convention met—T. Shipley, President pro tem. in the chair  
*Present*, Messrs. Corse, Haviland, Day, AtLee, Bartlett, Davenport, Gardner, Coale, Reese, Brown, Preston, Lundy, Needles, Sliver, Jones, Burke, Levering, Holmes, Parker, and S. H. Matthews.

The following report was presented by the committee on the Treasurer's account, and adopted:

*To the American Convention.*

The committee appointed to examine the Treasurer's account and report what sums may be necessary to be raised for the current expenses of the Convention,

Respectfully Report—That they have taken into consideration the expense incurred by the Convention in printing their minutes, and defraying the expense of Newspapers, &c. circulated among the Societies, and believe the sum of \$150 will be necessary to be raised, and have apportioned that sum on the several Societies in the following manner:

New York Manumission Society,	\$30 00
Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c.	30 00
Delaware Society,	10 00
Baltimore Protection Society,	10 00
Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland,	30 00
Virginia Convention,	15 00
Washington D. C.	10 00
Alexandria,	10 00
North Carolina,	5 00
	<hr/>
	\$150 00
	<hr/>

Which with the sum now in the Treasury, and the dividend from the stock in the Philadelphia Bank, they believe will be sufficient for the expenses of the present session.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the committee,

ISRAEL CORSE, Chairman.

The resolutions presented yesterday by J. Needles, and laid on the table, being, on motion of Wm. Holmes, again called up, were, on consideration, adopted.

On motion of Wm. E. Coale, an additional committee, to be termed A Committee on Kidnapping, was ordered to be attached to the other Standing Committees of the Convention.

The following are the several committees appointed:

*African Slave Trade.*

Evan Lewis, New York. Isaac Barton, Philadelphia.  
David Harryman, Baltimore.

*Internal Slave Trade.*

William E. Coale, Benjamin Lundy, Baltimore.  
Thomas Levering, Washington.

*State of Slavery in the United States.*

William Kelsey, Samuel Myers, William E. Coale,  
Baltimore.

*Laws of the United States in relation to Slaves, and Free People  
of Color.*

Thomas Shipley, Isaac Barton, Philadelphia.  
John Needles, Baltimore.

*Kidnapping.*

Joseph Davenport, Baltimore. Francis Burke, Washington.  
William Holmes, Virginia.

W. E. Coale having presented the following resolution, it  
was read, discussed, and adopted:

*Resolved*, That the Committee on the Internal Slave Trade  
be directed to enquire into the expediency of petitioning Con-  
gress to pass a law, prohibiting the transportation of slaves for  
sale from and to the several States and Territories of the Unit-  
ed States, by sea.

Fr. Burke presented the subjoined resolution, which being  
read, was adopted, viz.

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to each Society repre-  
sented in the Convention, to acquaint the Secretary with the  
residence of their several presiding Officers, at as early a pe-  
riod as practicable.

On motion, adjourned to 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

*November 5th, 10 o'clock, A. M.*

Convention met—T. Shipley, Pres't. pro tem. in the chair.



*Present*, Messrs. Corse, Haviland, Day, AtLee, Wilson, Davenport, Gardner, Kesley, Coale, D. Brown, Preston, Lundy, Needles, Sliver, Jones, Burke, Levering, Holmes, and Parker.

Information being given that 40 copies of Clarkson's History of the Slave Trade, as well as some Minutes of former sessions, were ready for the disposal of the Convention;

On motion, the Acting Committee were directed to distribute them in such manner as they may think best.

F. Burke presented the subjoined resolution, which being read, was adopted, viz.

*Resolved*, That this Convention recommend as general a diffusion of a knowledge of the views of Abolitionists as practicable, and would respectfully suggest to the various Societies, the propriety from time to time, of having such publications on the subject of slavery, as they may deem advisable to promote that object, inserted in the newspapers.

On motion, the following Committee was appointed to take into consideration the specimens of writing, composition, &c. of the pupils of the African Free School of New York, forwarded by the Manumission Society to the Convention,—Thom. Levering, Joseph Parker, and Abraham Sliver.

The following concluding report of the committee of arrangement was read and adopted:

*To the American Convention.*

The committee of arrangement, report in conclusion, that they recommend the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to prepare an Address to the citizens of the United States on the subject of slavery in the United States.

2. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to consider the expediency of memorializing Congress, praying them to prohibit slavery in the territories of the United States, as well as the District of Columbia.

3. *Resolved*, That the catalogue of exercises of the scholars,

of the New York African Free School be published in the minutes of the Convention.

**MAHLON DAY,**

*Chairman pro tem.*

B. Lundy presented the following resolution, which being read, was adopted, viz.

*Resolved,* That a committee be now appointed, to draught an address to the citizens of the United States relative to the Abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and report as soon as may be practicable.

The committee are B. Lundy, W. E. Coale and Edmund Haviland.

The Convention resolved itself into a committee of the whole to consider the resolution presented in the 1st. Report of the committee of arrangement, on the subject of preparing and proposing a plan for the gradual abolition of slavery—

**WILLIAM KESLEY,** being called to the chair—

The committee having risen, the chairman reported an examination of the subject, and asked leave to be discharged from the further consideration thereof.

On motion the committee was discharged.

An address from the Anti-Slavery Convention of Maryland was read, and ordered to be put upon the minutes.

On motion, adjourned to 7 o'clock this evening.

*November 5th, 7 o'clock, P. M.*

Convention met—T. Shipley, President pro tem. in the chair.

*Present,* Messrs. Corse, Haviland, Day, AtLee, Bartlett, Davenport, Gardner, Kesley, Coale, Mankin, Harryman, D. Brown, Preston, Lundy, Needles, Sliver, Jones, Burke, Levering, Holmes, and Parker.

The Address to the citizens of the United States, on the subject of the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia,

being read and considered by paragraphs, was, with some alterations, adopted as follows :

*To the Citizens of the United States.*

The American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race, now convened in the city of Baltimore, most respectfully takes the liberty of addressing you on the important subject of the gradual extinction of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

It is doubtless well understood, by our fellow citizens generally, that this District is *the property of the nation*—that the laws for the government thereof emanate from the representatives of the people, in Congress assembled, and that all who are entitled to the elective franchise in every State of the Union, have an equal right to express their sentiments, and urge the adoption of measures, relative to the abolition of the system of Slavery therein.

We are well aware that some will contend for the *legality* of Slavery, as tolerated in some parts of the United States, and insist that the question of its abolition should be left to the decision of the people of the District, themselves. When we consider that slaves are, generally, viewed as *property*, this kind of reasoning assumes a specious appearance: yet it must be borne in mind, that the inhabitants of the District of Columbia *are not represented in any legislative body*; but that the sovereignty over that particular section of the country is vested in the people of the States—And when we reflect, that the question has long since been settled whether a legislative body possesses the right to enact laws for the prohibition or extinction of Slavery—that it has indeed been *acted on*, by several of the State Legislatures, and also by Congress—we think that no reasonable doubt can be entertained as to the expediency of the measure in the present case. It is well known that a very large proportion of the citizens of the United States are inimical to the system of Slavery; and it is believed by many intelligent persons, who are themselves residents of the District of

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Columbia, that a great majority of the inhabitants thereof are desirous for its total abolition. Viewing the subject in this light, we cannot, for a moment, hesitate in urging your attention to it.

The friends of Universal Emancipation, in several of the States, viz. North Carolina, Tennessee, Maryland, &c. have for several years memorialised Congress upon this important subject; but as a few, comparatively speaking, were thus heard to express their sentiments, little notice has yet been taken of their petitions. At the last session, a memorial, against the perpetuation of the cruel system, was presented to that body, by the people of the District, themselves. This memorial was signed by about one thousand of the most respectable portion of the inhabitants, among whom were several of the Judges of the District Courts, and even some holders of slaves. Whatever may have been the doubts or scruples entertained by some of our citizens heretofore, respecting the propriety of urging this subject upon the attention of the National Legislature, we conceive that there is no longer cause for hesitation, since a very respectable number of the people of the District have themselves raised their voice in its favour; and, as we have before stated, it is also believed that by far the greater number are favourably disposed towards it.

That the discussion of this question may excite a lively interest, both in and out of Congress, and that whatever measures may be proposed, for promoting the object in view, will meet with violent opposition, from the advocates of Slavery, we are well aware. All past experience teaches us that this is to be expected. Not only the opponents of emancipation in the south may be expected to throw impediments in our way, but the prejudice against the unfortunate and degraded Africans, and the self-interest of many others will also be arrayed against us. Yet we would calmly and dispassionately appeal to the good sense of the people of this nation—to those who exercise the sovereign authority in this great republic—this boasted land of freedom and equal rights—and recommend the serious consideration of

this very important subject. We most earnestly beseech them to weigh well the consequences of tolerating within the limits of this District, a system that has uniformly proved destructive to every nation that long permitted its continuance. But most especially, we would appeal to them as Christians and Philanthropists; and urge them by all the feelings of humanity and benevolence—by all the ties of social affection that binds man to his fellow man—by a due regard to the immutable principles of justice, mercy, and consistency—and by every desire for the perpetuation of our free institutions and the peace and happiness of our posterity,—to come forth in their might, and exert every moral energy to arrest the march of this gigantic evil, ere it overwhelms us, and precipitates us into the vortex of corruption and despotism.

Not only do we consider the honour of the nation as implicated by the toleration of Slavery in the District of Columbia; but the example has a most deleterious and pernicious effect even upon those whose education and habits have opposed it, when they come within the range of its influence. As a proof of the correctness of this opinion, we need only advert to the conduct of sundry persons who have acted in the capacity of representatives to Congress from non-slave holding states. We have reason to believe that they have thus in some instances become so insensible of the evils of the anti-christian practice as to disregard the will of their constituents, and join with its advocates in the adoption of measures for its extension and perpetuation. And we fear that this state of things cannot be remedied until the people of the United States in general turn their attention to the subject, and adopt measures for the extinction of the odious system, wheresoever it can be done, consistently with the Constitution of the Republic.

From statements submitted to this Convention, we are glad to find that this subject has already arrested the attention of a respectable portion of our fellow citizens, in different parts of the Union. Petitions and memorials, we learn, are preparing

in many places for signatures, which will, in due season, be laid before Congress. It is also understood that efforts will soon be made by some of the members of that body, to effect the great and desirable object. Let, then, all who are sincerely desirous to wipe from our moral escutcheon this crimson stain, come forward at this interesting crisis, and raise their voice in favour of the great principle of universal liberty, and the inalienable rights of man.

Signed by order, and on behalf of the Convention.

On motion, *Resolved*, That 3,000 copies of the Address to the citizens of the United States, be printed in pamphlet form, for general distribution, and that the Committee who prepared it, endeavour to have it published in at least one Newspaper in each of the States and Territories.

The Report of the Committee on the specimens of improvement of the scholars of the African Free School of New York, being read was adopted as follows:

The committee to whom was referred the specimens of ingenuity and talents of the youth in the African Free school of New York taught by Charles C. Andrews beg leave to report;

That the essays presented to this Convention exhibit a precocity of talent rarely met with in youth of their age; that the map of Turkey and the chart are correct and finished productions that would do great credit to the pupils of any school in the United States; that the drawings are very creditable to their authors, and the Journal of a voyage from Boston to Madeira the exercise of James M. Smith, a pupil of the navigation class, is a specimen of unusual attainment in that branch for a boy of his years.

In short the committee have derived the most cordial satisfaction in examining such powerful proofs of intellect and talent in these children, and rejoice to have it in their power to call the attention of the public to this striking evidence of

the effects of education on the descendants of the despised Africans.

The committee would respectfully recommend to the Convention, that a copy of Cowper's poems be presented to George Allen and Thomas Sidney.

To Patrick Reason, James M. Smith, George W. Moore, Eliver Reason, Josiah G. Degress, Timothy Seamen,	}	each a copy of Johnson's Rasselas.
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And to the author of the likeness of Benjamin Franklin, the life of Franklin:—with a copy of this notice, accompanied by the earnest desire of the Convention that they may persevere in the acquisition of knowledge and virtue, which will tend more to raise them in the estimation of all good men, than the possession of either wealth or power, and may contribute in a high degree to raise those of their color to a more elevated rank in society.

Your committee cannot close this report without expressing their high respect and regard for Charles C. Andrews, the skilful and enlightened Preceptor, under whose assiduous care these lately obscure children have been brought forward to so extraordinary a degree of proficiency, and recommend that a copy of this notice be presented to him, and the Trustees of the school, with the thanks of this Convention.

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS LEVERING, *Chairman.*

The Committee to take into consideration the subject of the Domestic Slave Trade, reported the following:

*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race.*

The Committee appointed to take into consideration the subject of the Internal Slave Trade, and report such facts as they may deem suitable for publication, in relation to it,

Respectfully Report—That they consider the subject as one of

the greatest magnitude and importance that can gain the attention of this Convention. That such a trade should be permitted to be practised by the Laws of the United States of America, is a matter of the deepest regret, and can only be reconciled by a consideration of the frailty of all human institutions. From the short time afforded the Committee they have been unable as fully to consider the subject as they desired, but from the enquiry they have been able to make, the following appears to be at present the principal markets for the sale of human beings in the United States, viz. the Territories of Florida and Arkansas, the states of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana; these states and territories are supplied with their victims of oppression and cruelty, from the states of Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, Eastern and Northern parts of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. The principal depots where men, women, and children are collected, frequently kept in irons and exhibited for sale are—Patty Cannon's house, situated on the confines of Delaware and Maryland; a large establishment in the city of Baltimore; the Jail of Baltimore County; one at Saddler's Cross Roads, and the Jail in the city of Washington; a public tavern in the same place, and several places in the town of Alexandria; and in most of the towns of Virginia, and in the city of Charleston, S. C. In addition to the evils of legalized Slavery, we may add, as growing out of the trade, acts of kidnapping not less cruel than those committed on the Coast of Africa. Individuals are well known, who have made a business of decoying free people of Color on board their vessels, and of selling them for Slaves; two instances came particularly under observation in one of our principal sea ports, (and we believe they are numerous in other places,) one a boy of about 12 years of age, was decoyed on board a vessel and taken to one of the above places of deposit, from thence sent in their chain of communication to the home of the purchaser. Another instance occurred by the next trip of the vessel, of a woman being taken in the same manner, who on attempting to leave the cabin was



knocked down, gagged, and severely whipped, to intimidate, and make her acknowledge herself a slave. She was taken to the same place of deposite, but apprehending it was to be searched, they removed her with two others, free persons, (one of them stolen within twelve miles of the place,) to the woods, where they were chained, with but little cloathing, and exposed day and night in the open air; one of the persons so confined released himself from the tree to which he was attached and with an axe extricated the others. The woman above alluded to has since arrived and gave the above information, and in addition says, they have pits to conceal their captives when close pursuit is apprehended, which they cover with earth and leaves. It may be asked, as the persons are known, why not bring them to justice? We may reply, that notwithstanding we could bring some of the persons last alluded to, to identify their kidnappers, yet their evidence, on account of their color, is not allowed to be received in the Courts of Slave-holding States. Many other instances have occurred: and many instances of persons who were entitled to their freedom after serving a limited time, being sold into irredeemable Slavery in other states are deplorably numerous; the covert manner of doing which is generally such as to elude detection. It is suggested whether Legislative enactments requiring that persons so situated, should be required to be registered every time they change masters would not obviate in some measure this evil—humane persons could then trace individuals so circumstanced, and bring offenders to justice:—all which is respectfully submitted.

Some of your Committee have been the unwilling witnesses of gangs of men, women and children, being driven off in chains from some of the above places to be sold like cattle. The shrieks and groans of the wretched victims, would have melted any heart but that of the Slave Trader, steeled by avarice or petrified by cruelty: and as if in utter defiance of the laws of God and man:—the Sabbath is the day generally chosen for

receiving and sending off the unfortunate objects of their cupidity; and so blunted has public opinion become from the long existence of this unhallowed traffic, that individuals in the city of Alexandria, publicly advertise their having prepared their prisons and furnished themselves with every accommodation for selling men, women, and innocent children, to any purchaser.

The number transported by sea from the single port of Baltimore by a noted trader of that place is believed to exceed several hundreds per annum. How long, may we ask, is our land to be polluted with such abominations? Is there no fear of the awful vengeance of him who has declared, "Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loose the bonds of wickedness, and that ye let the oppressed go free. and that ye break every yoke?" If the righteous judgments of God fell on the Egyptians for their cruelty to the Israelites, (and their acts of oppression was mildness, in comparison with ours,) what may we not expect, we who have received the blessings of divine revelation, who proclaim the goodness of God, in having freed us from the political bondage of Great Britain.

Respectfully submitted, on behalf of the Committee,

THOMAS SHIPLEY, *Chairman.*

On motion, adjourned to 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

*November 6th, 9 o'clock, A. M.*

Convention met—T. Shipley, President pro tem. in the chair.

*Present*, Messrs. Corse, Haviland, Day, AtLee, Kesley, Coale, Harryman, Lundy, Needles, Sliver, Jones, Burke, Levering, Holmes and Parker.

The following amendment to the 1st Section of Article 3d, of the Constitution, being offered by M. Day, was read, and laid over for the consideration of the next session.

*Resolved*, That after the word "President," Article 3rd, Section 1st, in the Constitution, the word *three* be added, so as to read *three Vice Presidents, &c.*

D. Harryman, offered the following Resolution, which being read, was adopted, viz.

*Whereas*, By a dispensation of Divine Providence this Convention has been deprived of the attendance of their Vice President, at this session:—

*Resolved*, That the Delegates now assembled feel much sympathy with their Vice President, Daniel Raymond, Esq. on the afflictive event which has deprived them of his company and services.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary present to him a copy of these resolutions.

The following report of the Committee on the subject of Free and Slave labor, on the American Continent and Islands, was read and adopted, and the Committee continued to prepare further information thereon:

*To the American Convention, &c.*

The Committee appointed at the last Convention to procure information of the cultivation of Sugar, Cotton, &c. by free labor, &c.

Respectfully Report—That they have given some attention to the subject of their appointment, but have not been as successful as could have been desired. They have been enabled to procure some general information, relative to the production of sugar and cotton by the labor of emancipated slaves, and other free persons of color, in the West Indian Islands and on the American Continent; but have not had it in their power to obtain such particulars concerning it as will shew the extent of the pecuniary advantages which this mode of proceeding undoubtedly possesses over that of cultivating the land by slave labor.

We are credibly informed that the article of sugar is now produced by free labor, in two or more of the West Indian Islands, of a quality fully equal to that of any other, and is, also, brought into the market upon quite as favourable terms. Coffee is also produced in abundance in the island of Hayti, and some

parts of South America, by free labor. These productions, unstained by slavery, may now be had in the cities of New York and Philadelphia, and likewise at Wilmington in Delaware.

In the Territory of Florida, we learn, that a company, composed principally of citizens of the United States, have purchased a large tract of land, with the view of cultivating the sugar cane and other tropical productions, by the labor of free men. Samples of the sugar made by this company have been shewn to some of the members of your committee, and have been pronounced to be of a good quality. In Louisiana, likewise, we are informed that sundry persons are engaged in producing sugar in the same way, but we have not ascertained to what extent they have carried their experiments.

Sundry cotton planters in the states of North Carolina and Alabama, have, for several years cultivated their lands by free hands. They have disposed of considerable quantities of cotton in New York and New England, and we are informed appear well satisfied to continue the practice of employing free laborers to the total exclusion of that of slaves.

A gentleman in Rhode Island has manufactured some of this cotton separately into coarse muslins, which may also be had as above stated. A few of the citizens of Pennsylvania and Delaware, have likewise purchased some of this cotton, and manufactured it into calicoes and other fabrics. We presume, however, that this has not been done to any considerable extent; neither have we ascertained the degree of encouragement held out to those engaged in the enterprise.

The article of tobacco has, for some years, been successfully cultivated in the state of Ohio, where it is known that slavery does not exist; and we learn that it can be afforded in the Baltimore market at a lower price than that produced in the state of Maryland, by the labor of Slaves, after defraying the expenses of transportation some hundreds of miles further than the latter. But we are informed that even in the Province of Upper Canada, sundry colored persons from Kentucky, have made a settle-

ment, and have raised large quantities of this article which has been disposed of to advantage in some of our Atlantic ports.

But the most particular account your committee have obtained respecting the experiment of free, contrasted with slave labor, has been obtained from Ward's Mexico, a work lately published in London. The author was an Envoy of the British Government, and the most entire reliance may be placed on his statement, which, as in every other fair experiment, completely proves the advantage of cultivation by freemen. It appears, from his account, that the experiment was tried in consequence of the difficulty of procuring slaves during the war, and the great mortality which always took place on the first introduction of the slaves, from a change of climate. Being desirous to produce a race of free laborers, a large number of slaves were manumitted and encouraged to intermarry with the native Indians, which they soon did to a great extent, and so beneficial was the plan found to the master's interest, that in the year 1808 on most of the largest estates, there was not a slave to be found. From a personal inspection the author above alluded to declares that their tasks were performed with great precision and rapidity, (vol. 1. p. 67, 68.). A most important improvement appears also to have taken place; the whip being banished from the field and the females released from the field labor. From 360 to 450 tons of sugar are produced by 150 free laborers, while in Cuba, where the soil is superior in fertility the same number produce but 180 tons.

Should the Convention think proper the committee are willing to continue the further investigation of the subject.

Respectfully submitted,

B. LUNDY, Chairman.

The Committee to prepare an Address to the several Anti-Slavery &c. Societies, in the United States, reported the following:

*To the Abolition, Manumission, and Anti-Slavery Societies in the United States of America.*

**FELLOW LABORERS.**—In reviewing the labors of the several Anti-Slavery Societies in the United States, there is much to cheer and gratify us. In looking over the different sections of our extended country, we find the cause of truth and humanity has slowly, but regularly advanced, in the minds of our fellow citizens generally. And we think nothing remains but perseverance in presenting the subject of slavery in its native deformity and its hideous aspect, to convince its advocates of their error, and to overcome all the opposition which can be arrayed against us. We are satisfied that to the perseverance of its advocates alone, we are indebted in a considerable degree for the change of opinion in the Northern, Middle, and some of the Western States: and we sincerely hope that a similar change will be ultimately made in the southern sections of our country. Let us never relax in our exertions to promote the emancipation, and meliorate the condition of slaves, till every human being in these United States shall equally enjoy, all the blessings of our free Institutions. How can we feel apathy or indifference while we can almost see from the windows of the room in which we are now deliberating, a receptacle for slaves, in which they are thrust, manacled and bound, all ready to ship by their avaricious owner in the first vessel whose master or owners are as hard hearted and unprincipled as himself! Yes! A dungeon, the horrors of which has called forth deep emotions of regret from all who are permitted to see the misery and wretchedness of its inmates, and particularly the tears and great agitation of a benevolent aged stranger, who, in visiting this country, which has always professed "That all men are by nature, and of right ought to be free," was surprised and shocked to find in the precincts of one of the most professedly enlightened and patriotic cities in the Union, a storehouse of human flesh!

Slavery in whatever point of light considered, is a revolting

subject, repugnant to the best feelings of our nature, and inconsistent with the rights and happiness of man. We therefore urge the respective Societies to renewed exertions, in behalf of our colored population, and to petition Congress to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, and also to prevent its further extension in the territories of the United States.

Deeply injured as they have been by the whites, the colored people certainly claim from us some degree of retributive justice; we would, therefore, at this time particularly and earnestly recommend to the renewed attention of all the Abolition, Manumission and Anti-Slavery Societies in this country, the all-important subject of giving the colored children literary instruction, and placing them as apprentices to useful trades.

For, unquestionably, the most efficient means of promoting the moral improvement of this degraded portion of the human family is the institution of schools. And it must be obvious to every thinking mind, that a portion of education will be absolutely necessary to prepare the slave for the enjoyment of freedom; and such has been the happy influence of it on the scholars in the New York African Free School, that the Trustees in that city state, that no scholar who has been regularly educated in their school, has ever been convicted of crime in any of their courts of justice. We have no doubt that if similar means were used in other places, the like happy result would be obtained. And it is equally certain, that facts like these do more to obliterate idle prejudices than all abstract reasoning on the subject.

The Convention have been highly pleased at this time by the exhibition of some handsome specimens of the skill and talent of some of the boys in the African school under the charge of *Charles C. Andrews*, in New York; creditable alike to the Teacher and the scholar. For a more particular description of these articles, we refer to page 20 of the minutes of this Convention.

We again call your attention to the following extract from

our Address last year, particularly applicable to the present subject.

“As an incipient step to the Abolition of Slavery, we earnestly recommend, that immediate application be made to the Legislatures of States where Slavery exists, to prohibit the sale of slaves out of the state. The traffic which is thus carried on from state to state, is fruitful of evil consequences, not only depraving the minds of those engaged in it, but producing the most cruel separation of near connexions, and depriving its victims of almost every incentive to conjugal fidelity or correctness of conduct. Perhaps next in importance in meliorating the condition of slaves, is the adoption of regulations for their religious instruction, and the education of their children.”

“And while the members of the several Societies are laboring in the good work of universal emancipation, the Convention would particularly urge them to use all suitable endeavours, mildly yet earnestly, to prevail upon slave holders to consider the injustice and impolicy of tolerating Slavery; and prevail, if possible, upon such individuals, to fall into some plan for its gradual and entire abolition in our otherwise free and favoured country.”

We conclude with exhorting all those who are engaged with us in this important cause, to persevere, with the hope and confidence, that although our progress may be apparently slow, and our prospects sometimes appear discouraging, conformably to the dispensations of a Gracious Providence, truth and justice must, and will ultimately prevail.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

EDMUND HAVILAND, Chairman.

The following Resolution, presented by B. Lundy, was read and adopted:

*Whereas*, This Convention having been informed, that a disposition appears to be increasing among the holders of Slaves in some parts of the United States, (where public opinion and the Laws will not as yet sanction general emancipation,) to libe-



rate their Slaves, by removing them with their own consent, to other lands, where they may enjoy the rights and privileges of freemen.

*Therefore, Resolved,* That this Convention views with pleasure these indications of a reformation in public sentiment, and a desire to promote the cause of justice in those sections of the country to which we have just alluded; and we recommend to the Anti-Slavery Societies in the different states, to aid such humane and benevolent individuals in carrying into effect their wishes upon the principles of Equity, without infringing the Laws.

Abraham Sliver presented the following, which was read and adopted:

*Resolved,* That the Acting Committee be directed to prepare an Address to the free people of Color in the United States, in relation to their moral conduct, and the importance of properly educating their children, and that they publish and distribute it in such form as they may judge expedient.

The following are the Committee on the second Resolution of the concluding report of the Committee of Arrangement, and are instructed to prepare a Memorial on the subject of the District of Columbia.—William E. Coale, David Harryman, William R. Jones.

On motion of A. Sliver,

*Resolved,* That the Acting Committee be instructed to furnish to each of the Editors of Newspapers in the United States friendly to the cause of Freedom, a copy of the Minutes of this Session, with the request that they would publish such parts of them in their respective papers, as they may judge useful.

Joseph Parker presented the following, which being read, was adopted:

*Whereas,* It is incumbent on those who belong to Anti-Slavery Societies to manifest by all their actions their sincerity and consistency;

*Therefore, Resolved,* That this Convention again recommend

to the members of the several Societies who compose it, to give every encouragement in their power to the labor of Freemen in preference to that of Slaves, particularly in the consumption of the products of free labor.

*To the American Convention.*

The Committee on the Laws of the several states

**REPORT:**

They have not been able to give such attention to the subject as its importance required, and would respectfully recommend that it be referred to the attention of the Standing Committee on that subject, to report to the next session.

On behalf of the Committee,

THOMAS SHIPLEY, *Chairman.*

On motion, adjourned to 7 o'clock this evening.

*November 6th, 7 o'clock, P. M.*

Convention met. Thomas Shipley, President pro tem. in the chair. *Present,*

Messrs. Corse,	Davenport,	Jones,
Haviland,	Coale,	Lundy,
Day,	Brown,	Burke,
AtLee,	Needles,	Levering,
Bartlett,	Sliver,	Holmes,
		Parker.

Thomas Levering offered the following which was read and adopted:

*Resolved,* That the Trustees of the New York African Free School, be respectfully requested to permit the specimens of Ingenuity and talent of the pupils of their school, to be exhibited for a time in the rotunda of the capitol at the city of Washington, under the care of members of the Washington Abolition Society, as evidences of the intellectual improvement of the African race.

On motion the secretary is directed to apply to the Trustees of said school, in accordance with the above resolution.

The Committee to prepare a memorial to Congress on the

subject of slavery in the District of Columbia, reported the following—not deeming it expedient at the present time to prepare any thing respecting the territories.

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled.—*

The memorial of the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race,

RESPECTFULLY REPRESENTS,

That your memorialists being citizens of this free republic, and feeling in a high degree thankful for the favours and protection of its benign government, are solicitous, in common with all the advocates of true liberty, that its benefits should be extended to the whole human family—that all mankind might be permitted to enjoy peaceably, the full fruition of national rights, and the great blessings of heaven, while here on earth, the right to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

Your memorialists, without presuming to question the dignity, superior wisdom, and qualifications of your honourable body, would ask leave most respectfully to urge, as a sentiment, every day gaining a wider spread, and a deeper root, in the best feelings of freemen, that slavery is alike derogatory to the present enlightened condition of man, and a solecism in the institutions of our country: without, in any degree, wishing to appeal to the prejudices, either sectarian or geographical, of any portion of your honourable body, your memorialists cannot consent to withhold themselves from the influence of the irresistible current, manifest in the march of mind, towards perfection, and are therefore free to acknowledge, that they cannot, as consistent republicans, omit to raise their voices, in a respectful petition to their government on behalf of the sufferings, the privations, and the unmerited degradation of their fellow men—the colored people of America.

That the several states in this confederation are, to a certain

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constitutional extent, sovereign and independent, is readily admitted; but that their independence is qualified by the federal constitution, is equally certain. No state has a right to injure or destroy the fair fame of the republic: and no state has a right, unnecessarily to jeopardize the peace or prosperity of any other state. And that all the states, and all the people of each and every state in the union, are indissolubly bound to submit to the majority, is a fundamental principle of the union.

With these preliminary remarks, your memorialists will ask your paternal and special attention to the subject of *slavery in the District of Columbia*. This District, the seat of the national councils, and the common property of the whole republic, is by the constitution of the country, under your immediate care, and exclusive government—and to the combined wisdom, patriotism and prudence of your honourable body, is the common mind turned, with intense anxiety, knowing that nothing can exempt any portion of us from the shame and mortification that may attach to the character of its public laws and institutions; while nothing can prevent their participation in the splendour and renown of its wisdom, prosperity, and happiness. The District of Columbia, then, being the common property of the nation, the nation has an indubitable right, and it is consistent with the fitness of things, to have the institutions and the laws of the District, conformably to the aggregate sentiment of the whole people. The clearly expressed public opinion is against the continuance of slavery—and, by every rule of right, slavery should cease, as soon as practicable, within the national domain.

Under a full conviction of the truth of this doctrine, and the justice of their cause, your memorialists ask of your honourable body, the immediate enactment of such laws as will ensure the abolition of slavery within the District of Columbia, at the earliest period that may be deemed safe and expedient, according to the wisdom of Congress. They ask this, conscien-

tiously believing that this is the sentiment and expectation of the nation: and believing furthermore that the example will be gradually followed by many of the southern States, as the evils, impolicy, and injustice of slavery are more and more developed.

Commending you and themselves, with the best interests of humanity, to the mercies of a just God, your memorialists very respectfully and earnestly entreat your prompt attention to the subject.

Signed by direction of the Convention.

On motion of Wm. E. Coale,

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be awarded to Thomas Shipley, Esq. for the able and dignified discharge of the duties of President pro tempore, of the Convention, during the present session.

On motion adjourned *Sine Die*.

Published by order of the Convention,

EDWIN P. ATLEE, *Secretary*.

## COMMUNICATIONS.

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FROM THE NEW YORK MANUMISSION SOCIETY.

*To the American Convention, to meet in Baltimore, by adjournment, on the 3d of eleventh month, (November,) 1828.*

The New York Manumission Society, in their address to the Convention at this time, have but few important facts to communicate, in relation to the cause in which they are engaged. Slavery having become extinct in the State of New York, by the gradual operation of laws from time to time enacted by the Legislature, in consequence chiefly, of the exertions of this Society, the great original object of our association has been obtained, and our labours have been materially lessened. Indeed, upon the subject of emancipation, we have nothing left for us to do at home, except to attend to the occasional cases of transient slaves, or free persons of color, who come among us from the south; and who are sometimes claimed as slaves by the rapacious white man. These, when presented to our view, are never neglected.

But, although we have the satisfaction of seeing the main purpose of our institution accomplished, we feel no disposition to relax our exertions in the great cause of emancipation, so far forth as we can render assistance. And our friends in the Middle and Southern States, may rely upon our zealous and hearty co-operation, in every legal and practicable effort to break the chains, and improve the moral condition of those of the unhappy race of Africa who are yet held in bondage.

Unquestionably, the most efficient means of promoting the moral improvement of this degraded portion of the human family, is the institution of schools. To this object our attention is now mainly directed; and we feel a pleasure in being able to state, that the number of pupils in the schools under our care, has increased by the addition of more than a hundred

scholars since the last meeting of the Convention. We have now upwards of six hundred, (including males and females,) taught by able and experienced teachers. The present average of daily attendance is about three hundred and sixty. Two hundred and fifty of our scholars are able to read the scriptures, and about the same number write, and practise arithmetic. English grammar, composition, geography, astronomy, the use of the globes, map and linear drawing, are also pursued with interest and advantage by several of the male pupils. The girls, under well-qualified female teachers, are instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, the elements of English grammar and geography, plain sewing, knitting, marking, &c.

The progress of the pupils is such as to warrant the conclusion, that they are as susceptible of mental cultivation as the children of white parents. A class of eight or ten of the senior youths in the boys' school, have been taught navigation; which they acquired with a facility and rapidity exceeding our expectations. We are convinced that the instruction and right education of the children of the African race, will do more to advance the cause of universal emancipation than all other means put together. Whatever is achieved in this way, strikes at the root of the evils against which we are contending. It counteracts, and in a measure abolishes, that prejudice against the color, which is the greatest barrier to emancipation.

However unjust we may acknowledge this prejudice to be, yet we know it exists; and that there are few, if any among us, even among those who are the most sincere and zealous in reprobating slavery in general, who are not more or less tinctured with it. We believe it is not the *color*, abstractly considered, which causes this prejudice; but the *condition* in which we have been accustomed to view the unfortunate subjects of a degrading thralldom. And hence, by a natural association, the mind connects with the color of the skin the idea of that debasement of character which is inseparable from their condition.

We are doubly unjust to the sons of Africa. We drag them

from their native shores with brutal violence; deprive them of the unalienable birth-right of every being which bears the stamp of humanity; deprive them of every motive and means of honourable competition with ourselves; deprive them of every opportunity and inducement to exert the mental faculties which nature has given them; and then look down upon them as an inferior order of beings. We adopt a system towards them, which is directly calculated to debase and brutalize the human character; and then condemn them for the moral and intellectual desolation which this system has produced. But a system of instruction adapted to the situation and capacities of the objects of our solicitude, will, we are assured, convince the most sceptical, that a black skin is not necessarily associated with moral worthlessness, or mental imbecility. It will foster and bring to maturity many a germ of native talent, which for want of proper cultivation to promote its development, is now concealed from observation, and lost to its possessor and the community.

It has been remarked by civil historians, that crimes diminish in every community, in exact proportion to the mental culture of the common people; that ignorance and vice, by an immutable law of our nature seem inseparably connected. These facts are corroborated by the records of the criminal courts both in this country and in the British islands. And it is not irrelevant to the point to add, that such has been the happy influence of the system pursued in our African schools, that the trustees have never known any scholar regularly educated in them, to have been convicted of crime, in any of our courts of justice. It then becomes an object of vital importance, in our endeavours to meliorate the condition of the African race, to promote by all practicable means, in every section of our country, schools for the instruction of the colored children.

We have dwelt the longer on this subject because we conceive it to be the most efficient means for the attainment of the great objects which we, in common with other similar socie-



ties, have in view. If we were asked, What is the first and most important requisite in paving the way for the total abolition of slavery? we should answer, *education*. What the second? and the third?—our answer would still be as before—*education*. It is the philosopher's stone, which will turn the baser metals into gold. If generally diffused, it will change the whole moral and intellectual character of the race.

Within the last year we have appointed a visiting agent, to examine into the condition of every colored family in this city. His services have been of essential use, in stimulating the parents to send their children to school, and in furnishing more minute information relative to our colored population. The accounts received, have tended to convince us of the expediency of establishing for them a House of Refuge, in which colored juvenile delinquents, and children of dissolute parents, may be placed, and instructed in the useful arts; and we have appointed a committee on the subject.

As a large number of our colored people are very poor, and unable to provide for their children suitable clothing to attend school, several benevolent *colored females*, have recently formed themselves into a society, under the name of "The African Dorcas Association," for the purpose of procuring and of making up garments for the destitute. The labors of this Society have already been productive of much good; and it is highly gratifying to find a feeling existing among these people, so honourable and praise-worthy.

In an apartment of the Boys' School, there has been recently commenced a cabinet of minerals and natural curiosities, to which the attention of the more advanced pupils is occasionally called. To this collection, several individuals have made donations of minerals, reptiles, shells, and works of art; and hopes are entertained that, at no distant period, this part of the establishment will be respectable and useful. It will not only afford opportunity of imparting information to the pupils, but will also serve as an attraction which may induce the pa-

rents more frequently to visit the institution. Any additions to this collection from gentlemen at a distance will be thankfully received.

We have instructed our delegates to the Convention, to move an alteration in the Constitution, so that the future meetings of that body, may be held at the city of Washington, in the winter season, during the session of Congress. We think the cause would be promoted by holding our meetings in the capital of the Union, at the time when the representatives from the slaveholding states are assembled in Congress. And it will also be a more convenient season for delegates in general to leave their business and their homes to attend the Convention. By the present arrangement, it is only with great difficulty that delegates from this part of the country can be induced to attend the meetings of that body. But should the time of meeting be changed as proposed, we anticipate that the difficulty of which we speak, would in a great measure be obviated.

We have appointed as delegates, to represent us in the Convention at this time, Evan Lewis, Mahlon Day, Israel Corse, Edmund Haviland, and Aaron Legget.

GEORGE NEWBOLD, 1st. V. P.

THOMAS HALE, *Secretary.*

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### *TO THE BENEVOLENT.*

It having been deemed advisable to establish a Cabinet of Minerals and Natural Curiosities in the New York African Free School in Mulberry street, the Trustees of this institution hereby respectfully solicit the aid of the benevolent, who may find it convenient to contribute towards the promotion of this object, by donations in Minerals, Shells, or other Natural Curiosities.

Captains of vessels and other gentlemen travelling in our own,

or in foreign countries, would confer a public benefit by assisting in this useful design.

Several very interesting specimens of Minerals, Shells, Reptiles, Curious Works of Art, &c. from various parts of the world, have already been presented, which, with the School itself, are always open to the inspection of the public.

All donations will be thankfully received at the School, No. 137 Mulberry street; by Mahlon Day, No. 376, or Peter S. Titus, No. 457 Pearl street, New York.

By direction of the Board of Trustees.

MICHAEL M. TITUS, *Chairman.*

RICHARD FIELD, *Secretary.*

*New York, July 15th, 1828.*

The following members were named to receive and forward Donations, agreeably to the above notice.—Dr. AtLee, Jun. 139 Vine street, Philadelphia—William E. Coale, Sharp street, Baltimore—Thomas Levering, Seventh street, West, near the Post-Office, Washington City.

#### FROM THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF MARYLAND.

*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race.*

The Maryland Anti-Slavery Convention, congratulates the friends of human rights, on the reassembling of that body, which for so many years, has labored with so much disinterested zeal, in behalf of suffering humanity. While we have to deplore the continued existence of the great evil of slavery, in our beloved country, and the great increase of the unhappy victims of human cupidity, we rejoice with you that your labour has not been *altogether* in vain. Although you have not been able to procure the abolition of slavery, the condition of the African Race has been greatly improved since the organization of your association. And this is not all, for an impetus

has been given to this great work of improvement, which all the efforts of pride and avarice shall not be able to arrest. They may impede and retard its completion, but they cannot prevent the final abolition of slavery.

Since our last communication to the American Convention there have been two new societies recognized, as members of the Anti-Slavery Convention of Maryland. We believe the public mind is gradually improving in this state on the subject of slavery; but we have to regret that for some time past, the attention of our citizens, has been so intently directed to the contest on the approaching election of President, that they have been unwilling to look this subject in the face: and indeed several of the most zealous friends of emancipation have thought it best to remit our efforts to obtain the election to our state legislature, of persons professedly in favour of abolition: we have not however lost sight of this vastly important object.

The friends of gradual emancipation in this state presented memorials to Congress at its last session, praying the passage of a law for the gradual and safe abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; and we hope the friends of suffering humanity in all parts of the union will continue to press this question upon the consideration of the National Legislature, until *that foul blot at least*, shall be washed from our national escutcheon.

The holders of slaves, although not the most numerous class even of white citizens in this state, yet being generally wealthy, possess an influence in our legislature, which has hitherto been too powerful to be controlled; this together with the extreme sensibility manifested, by that interest, whenever the subject is even named, sufficiently indicate the great difficulties which must be overcome before the good cause can completely triumph in Maryland. Add to this that in all slave states, the laws are necessarily made by the slave holder, and consequently intended to promote his interest and security alone; the comfort and protection of the slave being only secondary considera-

tions, and only consulted, so far as they are supposed to be tributary to the master's interests; and we need not wonder that our labor progresses slowly; the greater wonder is, that any progress is made at all.

The internal slave trade we fear has not diminished since your last meeting. This melancholy exhibition of human depravity is often greatly aggravated by furnishing the unprincipled with an opportunity of selling into perpetual bondage those unhappy beings who happen to be legally in their possession for a term of years. As these servants are by law entitled to their liberty at the expiration of a specified period, the laws *ought to ensure* to them the enjoyment of their freedom. But the fears which naturally arise in the mind when we have despoiled a brother of his rights, prevent a liberal legislation on the subject. If every man who purchases a slave for a term of years, were bound under suitable penalties, to produce the person of the slave, if living, to the county court, at the expiration of said term, with suitable provisions to enforce the fulfilment of the law, something like an approximation to equity might be expected. But alas! there is little to be hoped for from this quarter, until the public mind shall have been so enlightened as to perceive that on this, as on every other concern, "there exists an inseparable connexion between our interest and our duty."\*

We therefore trust that the friends of liberty and justice will persevere in their endeavours to diffuse the light of truth on this important subject.

We acknowledge the receipt of 12 copies of the sketch of the slave laws by Stroud:—we hope that the exposition of these cruel laws will bring many to think on slavery, who never thought on it before; and we hope too, that consideration will induce feeling, and feeling prompt to action.

Let every member of the Convention remember the sacred precept "what thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might:"

\* See Washington's Farewell Address.

at the same time confidently expecting HIS blessing on our labors, who "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the Earth," for in due season we *shall* reap if we faint not.

We now appoint Daniel Raymond, William Kesley, William E. Coale, Henry Mankin, John S. Reese, David Brown, S. H. Matthews, E. I. Markland, and David Preston, our delegates to the American Convention for the present year.

The names of our officers at this time are as follows:

David Harryman, *President.*

E. I. Markland, *Vice President.*

Henry Mankin, *Rec. Secretary.*

Benjamin Lundy, *Cor. Secretary,*

William R. Jones, *Treasurer.*

Signed by order of the Convention, held in Baltimore, Oct. 28th 1828.

D. HARRYMAN, *President.*

HENRY MANKIN, *Secretary.*

FROM THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY TRACT SOCIETY.

*To the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race.*

The efforts that have been made by nations and individuals professing Christianity, within the space of a few years, to abolish the barbarous system of African Slavery, have inspired the liveliest emotions of hope in the bosom of philanthropy.—Although the long night of superstition and despotism, which succeeded the bright era of primitive Christianity, left the human mind enshrouded in ignorance; although a vast moral waste was thus presented to the view, where once the principles of civil liberty were cherished, and when pure religion reigned in the hearts of men; and notwithstanding we yet witness the effects of this great apostacy, in the continuance of a system of wrong and outrage, wherein *power* has usurped the place of *right*, and

selfishness and sophistry have been substituted for justice and reason; still we view, with pleasure, the advancement of moral light, and cheerfully look forward to the happy period when a brighter day shall dawn upon the Christian world—when avarice shall no longer trample on nature's universal prerogative, and man shall occupy the station assigned him by the All-wise Creator.

It is, indeed, peculiarly gratifying to perceive, that on this Continent—the grand theatre of African oppression—the voice of reformation has gone forth; that the light of liberty is progressing, and the thick cloud of ecclesiastical and political darkness are vanishing before it. If we look to the period when the first settlement of America, by the Europeans, gave rise to the horrible traffic in the natives of ill-fated Africa; if we trace the spirit of avarice along the dark mazes of superstition and grinding oppression, by the blood of the victims that encrimsoned its pathway; and if we contrast the state of things, at that day, with the philanthropic exertions of the present—truly we have cause for a well founded hope that the moral and political condition of this hemisphere is undergoing a rapid and happy change, and that they will eventually, blot out from their statute-books the unrighteous enactments that gave man the legal power to enslave his fellow man.

But a few years have elapsed since the slave trade between the continents of Africa and America, was openly tolerated by all the nations of professing Christendom. Nearly every European Province in America then afforded a market for the souls and bodies of men. What is the state of things now? The Powers of both Europe and America, have generally denounced the horrid traffic, as *piracy*. Eight of the newly organized American nations, viz. Buenos Ayres, (or the Argentine Republic,) Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Columbia, Central America, Mexico, and Hayti, have totally abolished, not only the "Slave Trade," but even the *system of Slavery*, within the limits of their jurisdiction. Seven of the original States of this Union,

in which Slavery was once tolerated, viz. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, have also enacted laws for its extinction: While Vermont, Maine, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, it is believed, have never permitted unconditional Slavery to have a legal existence within their borders. And, further, it is now totally interdicted in the whole territory of the United States, north of the line of 36 degrees and 30 minutes of north latitude.

Here we see that a wonderful change has taken place in the public mind, and in the circumstances of the African race, throughout a great portion of America; and it is peculiarly gratifying to know, that this change has been mostly effected within a quarter of a century. Indeed, it is but little more than half a century since the first visible efforts were made to turn the public attention to the subject. And it must be more gratifying still to perceive that the spirit of philanthropy is roused both in America and Europe, and that its votaries are now resolved to exterminate this unparalleled system of cruelty and oppression from the Western world. They do not expect to accomplish it by physical power, but by the influence of moral power. More than *one hundred and forty Societies* have been organized in the United States, (the most of them within the short period of five years,) with the view of effecting this great and desirable object. Many individuals are also laboring in the holy cause, with a zeal and perseverance worthy of all praise. These are making the most powerful appeals to the wisdom and justice of the sovereign people, and constituted authorities, to rid our country of the danger and disgrace that follow in the train, and are inseparably connected with hereditary oppression.

In England, also, a great moral revolution is going on.—Thousands are actively and zealously engaged in the good cause. All classes of the people, without distinction of age or sex, are labouring to pourtray the evils of colonial slavery and to devise plans for its extinction. The potent



voice of the nation has been heard in the halls of Parliament, and the champions of philanthropy have uttered their denunciations of the unholy system there. In short, the doom of British West Indian Slavery is sealed. The time is, doubtless, near at hand, when it will cease to exist, unconditionally, in all the colonies of that wide extended empire.

A knowledge of these facts and circumstances cannot fail to encourage the true philanthropist to press forward in the great and glorious work. From the history of the past, we have a sure presage of future success, provided we *resolutely persevere*. Nothing but this is wanting to secure the triumph of moral virtue over vice and corruption—the victory of personal and political liberty over slavery and oppression.

But the people of the United States have yet much to do; and without the exertion of every genuine patriot and philanthropist, the work must drag heavily on. The evil, also, is hourly increasing, and the difficulty in counteracting it augments in an equal ratio therewith. The attention of all must be drawn to the important subject. Their feelings must be enlisted; and the moral energies of the nation must be put in requisition. We must not wait for the great and the influential to espouse our cause; neither must we calculate upon the sufficiency of any one plan, for the attainment of our object. Every feasible measure must be adopted that will have the least tendency to promote the benevolent and glorious undertaking.

It is with these views and feelings, that the *National Anti-Slavery Tract Society* approaches the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery, &c. and requests permission to participate in its deliberations. We wish to be considered as humble coadjutors in the great work of philanthropy, which has so long engaged the attention of kindred associations, in America. Our object is, we believe, essentially the same that they have so zealously and successfully pursued, though we have not adopted, precisely, the same course of proceeding. While others take cognizance of things in general, connected with the abolition of slavery, this association confines itself to one branch

of the subject—to collecting and disseminating information relative thereto, that light and knowledge, respecting it, may be increased. In short, the principal point to which we have directed our attention, has been to facilitate, by means of the Press, a correspondence and communication between the friends of the cause in every section of the United States, and to give the most extensive circulation to arguments and the narration of facts connected therewith, that the means afforded will permit. We believe that much must yet be done towards preparing the public mind, before efficient measures can be adopted for the legal abolition of slavery, in many parts of the Union. The Press is admitted to be the most potent engine of the present age, for the spread of knowledge and the reformation of the corrupted state of Society. Let then its energies be directed to the promotion of this great, this holy undertaking.

Our Society was organized about eighteen months since.—The Constitution will be laid before the Convention, and will, more particularly, explain our object, &c. We have, as yet, done little more than attend to the publication of our periodical work; though for a few months past, we have employed an agent to travel in various parts of the United States, partly with the view of acquainting the public with our proceedings, and partly to urge the propriety of petitioning Congress, for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. What success will result from our efforts, in this respect, will be more particularly manifest at a future period; but we are happy to state, that many who have heretofore stood aloof, and refrained from participating in our labors, have thus been induced to express a willingness to engage in promoting our cause.

This being the first time that we have asked a representation in the American Convention, it would, perhaps, be unbecoming the duty of our station, to urge the adoption of any particular measure: but we trust that we shall be excused for inviting your attention to two prominent points in the system of measures now pursued by the friends of universal emancipation in some parts of our country:—we allude to the Abolition of Slavery in

the District of Columbia, and the suppression of the Internal Slave Trade. With respect to the *first*, we shall say nothing, further than to express our belief that this is the proper period to press the subject upon the attention of Congress, by every legitimate means in our power, and to assure the Convention that we are disposed to co-operate therein to the extent of our ability. As to the *second* point, viz. *The Abolition of the Internal Slave Trade*, we beg the indulgence of the Convention, while we briefly state our views, and the course which we think might with propriety be pursued, in relation to it. It is to be presumed that the great body of the American people have not reflected sufficiently upon the nature of this outrageous traffic, or taken pains to inform themselves as to the principle upon which it is conducted. Had they done so, we conceive that they would have felt some conscientious scruples while silently passing it under review, and denouncing the *same thing* as "piracy" in another quarter of the globe! Where, we would ask, is the difference, in principle, between trafficking in human flesh and blood, on the African or American Continents?—or, to be more explicit, why shall the purchasing and kidnapping of slaves, in Africa, be stamped as a heinous offence, subject to the highest penalties that human power can inflict, while the very *same business*, carried on in the United States, is tolerated—nay, even *sanctioned* and *protected* by our laws? Are practices that are considered the most flagrant and criminal in a civilized community, transmuted to venial, or even virtuous acts, by a mere change of clime? Is the character of the most wicked and piratical deeds that were ever perpetrated, thus radically changed by being transacted within the limits of the United States! But shall we be told, that in the one case, the victims of this traffic are legal slaves, and not in the other? This doctrine may very well suit our opponents, yet it is wholly untrue. Slavery is, strictly as "legal" in Africa, as in America; for the inhabitants of that continent have the same right to enslave their fellow-men that we have ourselves:—the "*right*," in both

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cases, rests on no other foundation than the *power* to oppress, and the will to exercise it. And, further, the Slave Trade is very generally conducted much in the same manner in both countries. Numerous Slave Factories, or depots, for their temporary incarceration, are established; the most hardened and depraved men are engaged in the business; the same cruel separation of the nearest and dearest connexions in life, and the same heart-rending family affliction is witnessed, in either case. Some are purchased with money, and some are kidnapped; some are inhumanly beaten and deprived of life; while some have maimed themselves, destroyed their own lives, or those of their oppressors, rather than submit to their cruel fate. These horrors are frequently witnessed alike, in Africa and America; and in both they are permitted, by the powers that exercise the sovereign authority. We might extend the comparison much further, but this must suffice for the present. Let us, then, repeat the interrogation, in the most emphatical manner : *What is the difference in principle, between the prosecution of this disgraceful, anti-christian traffic in our own, or a foreign land?* We believe there is, in reality, none. That there may be some difference in the amount of cruelty practised, we readily admit; but this is chiefly owing to the different circumstances in which those engaged in it are placed by the laws. In the one case, they are protected by them, and in the other, condemned to death, if convicted.

We regret that we have it not in our power to state to what extent the internal American Slave Trade is carried. Our information respecting it is far short of what would be requisite to furnish an adequate idea of its magnitude, as well as its enormity. But we can gather something from the few facts that have come to our knowledge, which may present data for reasonable conjecture, and be of use in prosecuting further inquiry.

There are now, it is believed, three or four depots, or *Slave-Jails*, in the single District of Columbia, where the victims of this inhuman traffic are collected, chained, hand-cuffed, and

incarcerated, in loathsome dungeons, garrets, and cellars, until a sufficient number are procured to form a *drove* for the Southern market. There are also establishments of the same kind, in other sections of the country, one or more of which are located in the city of Baltimore. Many persons make it their regular business thus to trade in the souls and bodies of men, women, and children, from the Northern slave-holding states to the South, both by *sea and land*.— It is believed that hundreds are thus constantly employed. Nearly four hundred slaves have recently been transported *by sea*, from the port of Baltimore, in the short space of five or six weeks. Two hundred and twenty of them were confined in a single vessel. In addition to these, large *droves*, chained and manacled, have been taken through the country, in various directions.

These facts, though they furnish but a partial view of the true state of things, speak in tones of thunder, shewing the necessity of putting an end to this diabolical business. Can it be possible that American Republicans, that *professing Christians*, will much longer sit with folded arms, and look upon such a horrible state of things without emotion? Whither have flown the spirits of the departed Lay, Woolman, Benezet, Franklin, and Rush? Are there none left who have imbibed the fire of patriotism and philanthropy which actuated those champions in the cause of justice and liberty? Shall the people who make the highest profession of religion and justice, and the loudest boast of freedom of any in the known world, at the same time tolerate the worst practices of pagan nations, and uphold the most outrageous system of oppression (the very thing they condemn in others) that has ever been recorded in the annals of mankind! We hope, for the sake of humanity and virtue—for the honor and future safety of our beloved country—for the success of our otherwise excellent system of government—for the peace and happiness of ourselves, and for the welfare of posterity, that this will not be the case. We hope that those who are

convinced of the impolicy, the inhumanity, and the extremely evil tendency of this cruel traffic, will sound the tocsin of alarm, and rouse the nation to a sense of the wonderful inconsistency thus manifested in its profession and practice. We think it must be evident to every well-informed and unbiassed mind, that the Foreign and Domestic Slave Trade is the same in principle; therefore the nation has equally the right to enact and enforce the execution of laws for the prohibition of the one, as well as the other; and that it would be consistent with the wisest policy of government to do it, cannot, in our opinion, for a moment be doubted.

Our Society consists at present of about fifty members, all of whom are residents of slave-holding states.

We have appointed the following members to represent us in the American Convention, for the ensuing session, viz. Benj. Lundy, William R. Jones, John Needles, Abraham Sliver, and Joseph C. Dawes.

The names of our President and Board of Managers are as follows:

William R. Jones, *President.*

Benjamin Lundy, *Corresponding Secretary.*

W. H. Morgan, *Recording Secretary and Treasurer.*

John Needles, Daniel Raymond, David Brown, Amos West, John S. Reese, William Kesley,	}	<i>Managers.</i>
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Wishing you the most cordial fellowship and unanimity in your deliberations, and complete success in your philanthropic undertakings, we close this communication.

Signed on behalf of the National Anti-Slavery Tract Society,  
by WILLIAM R. JONES, *President.*

November 3d, 1828.

FROM THE BALTIMORE SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF FREE  
PEOPLE OF COLOR.

*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery and improving the condition of the African race.*

In consequence of the frequent recurrence in our city and state, of the kidnapping of persons of color who were actually free, as well as of those who were prospectively entitled to their freedom, contrary alike to the laws of the land and the dictates of humanity—a number of persons associated together to extend such assistance and protection as might be found practicable, to any portion of that unfortunate race whose cases should come to their knowledge.

Our Society was instituted in the summer of 1827, since which time we flatter ourselves, we have been instrumental in rescuing a number of persons, who would otherwise have been doomed to a state of bondage for life; and although our number is comparatively small, we believe the necessary degree of zeal in the cause we have embarked in, is maintained amongst us; and we continue disposed to hold out a helping hand to those of our fellow beings whose circumstances require it. Being under the impression that the object and views of our Society are intimately connected with those of yours, we have at a special meeting held 10th month, 17th, 1828, appointed the following named persons to represent our Society in your Convention, viz. Thomas Matthews, William E. Bartlett, Samuel Wilson, Joseph Davenport, and Ephraim Gardner.

The number of members constituting our Society is about thirty. Our officers for the present are,

Thomas Matthews, *President.*

William E. Bartlett, *Vice President.*

Joseph Davenport, *Treasurer.*

Joshua Matthews, *Secretary.*

John Needles, George Gillingham, John Q. Hewlett, Ephraim Gardner, Benjamin P. Moore, William Dallam, William R. Jones, Samuel Wilson,	}	<i>Managers.</i>
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Signed on behalf of the Baltimore Society for the protection  
of Free People of Color.

WM. E. BARTLETT, *V. P.*

JOSHUA MATTHEWS, *Secretary.*

FROM THE VIRGINIA CONVENTION.

*To the American Convention to be held in Baltimore.*

When we reflect that many of the most enlightened men of America, have employed their time and talents for the laudable and magnanimous purpose of devising means, by which African slavery might be ultimately abolished, we fear that our exertions (comparatively speaking) will be abortive and unavailing. However we feel it our duty to contribute all that we possibly can to that great and noble cause, which ought to arrest the attention of every true philanthropist; and which so materially affects the vital interest and prosperity of our country. Never was there a subject which has more manifest claims on our compassion, benevolence, and humanity, than that of African degradation; for, in this case, we behold human nature stripped of every consoling prospect, and man put upon a par with the brute Creation. That such deprivation is incompatible with the designs of an overruling providence, is not only evident in itself, but convicting to every rational and reflecting mind, we trust will be admitted by all who have any claims to virtue, morality, and religion. Then why should we loiter, and not at once engage in a cause, based on such noble and exalted principles? To alleviate the miseries and calamities



ties of our oppressed fellow creatures, is a christian duty of the greatest magnitude, and to engage in it with an unremitting zeal is the only way to ensure success; these, we think, are hints which ought to be forcibly impressed on every mind.— We believe that there are many in this ancient domain (Virginia,) who would earnestly engage in the task of restoring the fallen and degraded sons of Africa to their long lost freedom and happiness, were it not for the scoffings of those prejudiced and interested persons, whose avarice obscures the sunshine of reason and benevolence; and whose nicest sensibilities are checked by a mere shadow—the fear of losing their popularity.

But notwithstanding the impediments we are destined to meet, we hope to pursue the path of duty with a steady and determined step, till the cause in which we have engaged, shall have ripened into maturity; and gathered the scattered sons of oppression into the folds of happiness and security.—Then indeed, and not until then, will these United States attain to that dignity and elevation, which ought to characterize every republic. And more particularly *one* whose greatest boast is the liberty which all are permitted to enjoy: but so long as slavery is tolerated, there will be a stain on that flag of Independence which is ever exultingly displayed as an emblem of freedom and protection.

We have appointed the following members to attend the American Convention, viz.

Daniel Janney,	Samuel Brown,	Josiah Fawcett,
Daniel Smith,	Christian Holmes,	Robert Bond,
William Holmes,	Isaac Pidgeon,	Joseph Hackney,
		Thomas Wright.

Signed by direction of the Virginia Convention for the abolition of slavery—held at Winchester the 20th, 21st, and 22d, of August 1828.

JOSEPH HACKNEY, *President.*

THOMAS WRIGHT, *Secretary.*

FROM THE GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF NORTH CAROLINA.  
*To the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery, to be held  
 in Baltimore, on the first Monday in November next.*

FELLOW LABORERS:

The General Association of the Manumission Society of North Carolina, vested its Board of Managers with a discretionary power, either of sending on a Delegate to your body, or of forwarding a written communication, as should seem most practicable;—since which, a brief has been received from your Secretary, informing us of your adjourned meeting to be held in Baltimore. The Board, after due deliberation, appointed the undersigned committee to forward a written communication.

We would that it were in our power to speak more encouragingly on the momentous subject of emancipation; which, however, we have not in our power,—or to say that we have made much progress for the past twelve months. And although, some degree of torpor is manifest in some of our branches, yet, we entertain a fervent hope, that our labors are not in vain; as the subject has made its way, and our sentiments gradually gained ground in some unexpected sections of our state; and we are convinced that a latent sentiment favourable to our cause, exists in many breasts, which only needs being roused into action. And in order to that end, the Board of Managers have had recourse to publications for general distribution; the effects of which are discoverable, as it becomes more and more a subject of conversation; and subjects, which, a few years ago, would produce high irritation, are becoming the familiar topics of the day. So that, when we take a view of the indefatigable labors of philanthropists, who have heretofore been engaged in the cause, and the length of time their talents were occupied, with but seemingly little progress, and yet were ultimately successful, we think we are warranted in believing we have ground to hope, and encouragement to press forward: yet we must acknowledge there is much to do,—many long-inured prejudices

to remove. These, we believe, are gradually becoming weakened and measurably removed in many; and we have in our cause, the assistance and co-operation of some of those who are entangled in that general curse, which prevails over a great portion of this state.

It is with due deference, we address your Body, who have been so long engaged in this just cause, (and who have been to many of us, until of latter time, in a manner, unknown,) and devoutly hope for the blessing of success on the united labors of all who are engaged for the promotion of the same great end.

Signed on behalf of the Board,

RICHARD MENDENHALL, } Committee.  
ZIMRI STUART,

10th mo. 8th, 1828.

*To the American Abolition Convention for promoting the rights of oppressed man.*

Friends and Fellow Advocates in the cause of suffering humanity:—I received on the 16th of last month, by Isaac Barton, Secretary of your acting Committee, a few lines giving notice of the time and place of holding your ensuing Convention, with a request to send a Delegate or Delegates from the Manumission Society of Tennessee, to your said Convention. The Convention of our Manumission Societies was in session in 8th mo. last. The propriety of sending representatives from this to the American Convention was brought up, and considered, but the distance and scarcity of money, appeared to render it impracticable to represent our Convention at this time. We appointed a corresponding committee and instructed them to communicate with religious, humane and benevolent societies as far as practicable, and to report their progress to our next Convention. The members of that Committee live between 55 and 60 miles from me. The notice above alluded to from Isaac Barton, was the first knowledge which we had in these

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parts, of the time or place of your Convention's meeting. have sent on the notice to our Corresponding Committee, requesting them to reply promptly so as to reach the Convention at Baltimore, on the 3d of next month.

I am very anxious that the friends of freedom may be firm, and encouraged to persevere with christian fortitude, in promoting the great cause of justice, as the power of this republican government, is where it ought to be, that's with the people: it appears strange that they do not more seriously consider the interest of themselves and posterity. I wish that the several Religious and Benevolent Societies could be prevailed upon throughout this union, to consider the propriety of petitioning the several Legislative Authorities on the all-important subject of negro emancipation, but more particularly to load the tables of Congress with such Memorials, not only referring that august body, to the (little spot of ten miles square) District of Columbia over which Congress hold entire control. If Congress have power to regulate commerce between the several states, &c. let all the friends of man solicit the Congress to pass laws to prohibit that species of commerce, to wit: the Internal Slave Trade that's carried on to a very great (and shameful) extent between several of these states. Many men in several of the slave states, drive droves of horses, cattle and hogs, into slave states, and barter them for human beings, men, women and children; drive back the negro booty, and dispose of them as slaves, frequently to make payment for the live stock, they drove to human markets all this professors of religion practice, and government winks at it, with complacency. It's time for the people to be roused to their duty, and ask their rulers to abolish such things in plain explicit terms.

JAMES JONES,

*President of the Manumission Society of Tennessee.*

**FROM THE BENEVOLENT SOCIETY OF ALEXANDRIA FOR IMPROVING  
THE CONDITION OF PEOPLE OF COLOR.**

*To the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and improving the condition of the African race, to be held in Baltimore, on the 3d of the 11th month next.*

RESPECTED FRIENDS,

We have appointed two of our members, Job Guest and William Veitch to attend the approaching Convention—in the objects of which we feel a deep interest, and we trust that its deliberations will be attended with the most beneficial consequences.

During the past year our Society has continued to pursue the objects of its institution; and although nothing great or striking has been performed, we believe our labors have been useful to some individual sufferers, and that a patient continuance of them will in time produce a good effect upon the community. We believe that we can safely say, the sentiments of many of the most influential citizens of this District, as well as the adjoining States of Maryland and Virginia, are every year becoming more and more impressed with the important truth, that slavery is not only inconsistent with Christianity and republicanism, but likewise injurious to the pecuniary interests of the master.

We have lately had an application from a gentleman of Virginia on behalf of a pious lady, who is now educating her slaves to prepare them for freedom, to find places for two of her negro boys, who will be manumitted when they become of age. This is not the first application of the kind that we have had from Virginia, and it is probable that others will occur. In communities where slavery exists, it is extremely difficult to find suitable places for such children, and the law of Virginia, which is in existence here, will not allow them a residence after they become free. Under these circumstances we have thought it expedient to communicate this information to the Conven-

tion, and to suggest the propriety of some of the Abolition Societies in the non-slaveholding States, endeavouring to provide situations for such children, where they may be moderately educated and put out to trades. We shall be glad to open a correspondence with any Society that will undertake this duty.

During the last session of Congress, we endeavoured to obtain the passage of some laws for the protection of the free people of color, and to prevent the slave traders from carrying away those who will be entitled to freedom after a term of years—we were not successful, however, except in obtaining a law to prevent free negroes from being sold for the payment of their jail fees when taken up as runaways.

We co-operated with our sister Society of Washington City in drawing up and obtaining signatures to a petition to Congress for the gradual abolition of slavery within this District. It was signed by about two hundred respectable citizens in this town, and about eight hundred in Washington and Georgetown, and was presented to Congress last session but not called up for discussion.

Our society at this time consists of twenty-two members.

With desires that your proceedings may be conducted in the meek and humble spirit of Christ, which can alone render them useful, we remain

Your friends.

Signed on behalf of the society, by

S. M. JANNEY, *Cor. Sec'y.*

*Alexandria, 10th Mo. 30th, 1828.*

P. S. Since writing the foregoing we are sorry to find that our representatives cannot attend the Convention.

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*Washington, October 31, 1828.*

This is to certify that at a stated meeting of the Washington Abolition Society, held on the second Monday in October, 1828,

Francis Burke, Samuel Myers, and Thomas Levering, were appointed Delegates from this Society to attend the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery and improving the condition of the African race, to be held at Baltimore on the first Monday in November next.

JOHN SCRIVENER, Sec'ry.

The Officers of this Society for the present year are as follows:

John Chalmers, *President*.

Jacob Janney, *Vice President*.

R. P. Anderson, *Corresponding Secretary*.

John Scrivener, *Recording Secretary*.

Josiah Bosworth, *Treasurer*.

## APPENDIX.

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*Catalogue of Exercises from the New York African Free School, exhibited to the American Convention held in Baltimore, November 1828.*

No. 1. A map of Turkey in Europe, with a view of the seraglio at Constantinople, executed by Patrick Reason, aged 12 years.

2. A compendious chart exhibiting at one view the names of about 300 of the principal ports and places in the world, with their bearings per compass, and their distances expressed in geographical miles from the city of Washington, all calculated by several of the Pupils in the navigation class, namely, *Josiah G. Degrass*, *George W. Moore*, *Timothy Seaman*, and *Eliver Reason*, and by permission arranged on the principle of *P. Haukes Esq.* to whom the class feel much indebted for many professional suggestions—respectfully dedicated to the Trustees of the school.

3. George R. Allen's Essay to the Convention, attested by the Teacher and several of the Trustees of the school, as being his genuine unaided production.

4. George R. Allen and Thomas Sidney's verses on Slavery, and Freedom, produced in a given time.

5. George W. Moore's Essay.

6. Eliver Reason's Essay.

7. Josiah G. Degrass' Essay.

8. Journal of a voyage from Boston to Madeira, an exercise in the navigation class, by James M. Smith aged about 12 years, a remarkable neat production.

9. A likeness of Benjamin Franklin, by 13 years of age.

10. An address delivered by James M. Smith aged 11 years,



to General La Fayette, on the day he visited the institution Sept. 10th, 1824, very neatly written.

11. Two specimens of figures done with the pen, well executed.

12. Three specimens of Drawings handsomely executed.

#### GEORGE R. ALLEN'S ESSAY.

*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race.*

GENTLEMEN:

When I consider that I have the honour of addressing so large an assembly of distinguished gentlemen of this enlightened country, and that I am only a poor little descendant of Africa, I am struck with fear, humility and awe.

In the first place, I return thanks to that Supreme Being, who has put it into your hearts to advocate the cause of our injured race, and to promote their emancipation from slavery.

What sound can be more delightful to the ear of a slave than the expression, "The Laws have made you free?" This is the happy case with us in the state of New York. Liberty is an invaluable blessing to us; and we often feel compassion for the thousands of our brethren in the South who are groaning under the chains of bondage, while we are enjoying the benefits of freedom, and one of the most important of these, I conceive to be education.

I have the happiness to belong to a school, which was instituted by the Manumission Society of this city, about 40 years ago. There are about 700 scholars, male and female, belonging to this Institution; and although I am but twelve years old, I have made some progress in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English grammar, navigation, and astronomy.

The school has frequently been visited by gentlemen from the South and other parts of the country; and I and several of my schoolmates have been called up and examined by them upon

the several branches that we were acquainted with, and they have always expressed themselves highly gratified with our performances. I trust the time is not far distant when the blessings that we enjoy shall be the happy portion of all our colored brethren, and then the language in the following lines will have their full weight: "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain ~~unalienable~~ rights; among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments were instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

That you may prosper in your arduous but glorious undertaking; and that all your labours may be crowned with success, you have, gentlemen, the wishes of myself and fellow school-mates in the New York African Free School.

GEORGE R. ALLEN.

*New York, October 21st, 1828.*

Having at the suggestion of some of the Trustees of the School under my charge, informed my pupils that the American Convention was soon to meet in Baltimore, and intimated its objects and its labours, I proposed to the senior boys the propriety of their attempting something in the form of an Address from them to that body; promising to forward such essay as I should judge to be the most appropriate. I certify that the foregoing communication is the original production of the boy who has signed it, with no other correction or alteration than the *erasure of a few superfluous words.*

CHARLES C. ANDREWS.

The undersigned, members of the New York Manumission Society, appointed to draft an Address to the American Convention, have full faith in the above attestation of C. C. Andrews, and from what we have known of the performances of this, and other boys in his school, we are fully convinced that the said Ad-

dress is the genuine, unaided production of George R. Allen, a very black boy of pure African descent, who is now between 12 and 13 years old, and was born in this city.

MAHLON DAY,  
GOOLD BROWN,  
THOMAS LEGGETT, Jun.  
WILLIAM L. STONE,  
ISRAEL CORSE.

*New York, 10th mo. 21st, 1828.*

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*George R. Allen and Thomas Sidney's Verses on Slavery and Freedom, produced in a given time.*

#### ON SLAVERY.

Slavery, oh, thou cruel stain,  
Thou dost fill my heart with pain:  
See my brother, there he stands  
Chained by slavery's cruel bands.

Could we not feel a brother's woes,  
Relieve the wants he undergoes,  
Snatch him from slavery's cruel smart,  
And to him freedom's joy impart?

George R. Allen, aged 12 years, *Oct. 21st, 1828.*  
*New York African Free School.*

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#### ON FREEDOM.

Freedom will break the tyrant's chains,  
And shatter all his whole domain;  
From slavery she will always free  
And all her aim is liberty.

Thomas S. Sidney, aged 12 years, *Oct. 21st, 1828.*  
*New York African Free School.*

The above verses were composed and written by the boys who have signed them; George R. Allen was required to produce something on Slavery, either in prose or verse in half an hour, and he, within the time, handed me the above lines. Thomas S. Sidney occupied one hour on freedom.

*New York African Free School.*

CHARLES C. ANDREWS.

### GEORGE W. MOORE'S ESSAY.

*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery and improving the condition of the African race.*

GENTLEMEN,

Will you suffer a poor little descendant of Africa to address you in behalf of myself and fellow schoolmates? I am but young, but when I consider what great things have been done for our race, and still are doing for them, I feel thankful. In the first place many of us are restored to our liberty, and secondly many are enjoying education. Since I have been in school I have learned considerable of the several branches taught; namely, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, &c.

Gentlemen, since the last convention, New York has been freed from slavery. You have the good wishes of myself and fellow schoolmates, hoping that you may prosper in your undertakings.

GEORGE W. MOORE, aged 15 years.

*New York African Free School, Oct. 21st. 1828.*

### ELIVER REASON'S ESSAY.

*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race.*

GENTLEMEN,

I now address you in behalf of myself and my schoolmates: will you suffer a poor boy of my description, to address you thus:

How many years have our poor Africans been in chains of

slavery and perhaps have not seen a day of rest in many years, how likely is it, that they have been stolen from their native country, when they were young, from their dear father and mother; there are so many in the southern States chained in slavery for no other crime, than the color of their skin! I ought to return thanks to the Almighty Being, for putting it into the hearts of such gentlemen as you, to condescend to take notice of us, and, in the second place, I ought to return thanks to the gentlemen that have taken into consideration the condition of our ill-fated people. May the Supreme Being reward you ten fold for the good you do for us, is the desire of an injured African.

ELIVER REASON.

*New York African Free School, Oct. 21st, 1828.*

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ISAIAH G. DEGRASS'S ESSAY.

*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race.*

GENTLEMEN,

I feel myself highly honoured by addressing you in behalf of myself and the African race. I am but a poor descendant of that injured people. When I reflect upon the enormities which continue to be practised in many parts of our otherwise favoured country, on the ill-fated Africans, and their descendants, who are torn by the hands of violence from their native country, and sold like brutes to tyrannical slave-holders in different countries, where they are held in slavery and bondage, I ought to return thanks unto Almighty God, for having put it into the hearts of such distinguished men as you, to undertake the cause of the Abolishing of Slavery; and I ought to feel myself greatly blessed for enjoying the many privileges I do; while there are so many in the southern States chained in slavery, who perhaps, have left mothers, fathers, sisters and brothers, to mourn their loss. I feel myself greatly blessed in belonging to a school which has been established for many years by the

Manumission Society. The different branches that are taught in this school, are reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, navigation, astronomy, and map drawing. Our schools which now contain 700 male and female scholars, continue to be conducted on the Lancasterian system, and the improvement of the scholars is such, as to be satisfactory to the trustees, and all visitors who come to the school. Next to the Supreme Being, gentlemen, you deserve the gratitude and thankfulness of our whole race. When I reflect on the great things that you have done for us, I can but with gratitude fall at your feet and thank you. It makes my heart burn within me, when I think of the poor Africans who are torn from their homes and relatives; deprived of the protection and advice of their friends, and forced to a distance from the means of proving and defending their rights; these wretched victims of avarice and cruelty languish a long time in bondage before they can procure assistance.

You gentlemen, who are advocates for the abolition of such, deserve the gratitude and thanks of our whole race. May Divine Providence assist you in all your proceedings, is the wish of a descendant of Africa.

ISAIAH G. DEGRASS, aged 15 years.

*New York African Free School, Oct 21st, 1828.*

# **MINUTES**

OF THE

TWENTY-FIRST BIENNIAL

## **AMERICAN CONVENTION**

FOR PROMOTING THE

### **ABOLITION OF SLAVERY,**

AND IMPROVING

**THE CONDITION OF THE AFRICAN RACE.**

Convened at the City of Washington,  
December 8, A. D. 1829.

AND AN

### **APPENDIX,**

CONTAINING

**THE ADDRESSES FROM VARIOUS SOCIETIES,**

TOGETHER WITH THE

**CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS**

**OF THE CONVENTION.**



**PHILADELPHIA:**

**PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE CONVENTION.**

.....

**THOMAS B. TOWN, PR.**  
**1829.**

*Twenty-first Convention/1081*





# MINUTES, &c.



CITY HALL,

Washington, December 8th, 1829.

10 o'clock, A. M.

At a stated session of the twenty-first biennial, "American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race,"

Joseph Parker, Esq. being called to the chair, and Samuel C. Sheppard, appointed Secretary, pro tempore ;

Credentials were presented and read, by which it appeared that the following gentlemen were elected by their respective societies, Delegates to compose this Convention, viz.

*By the New York Manumission Society.*

Charles Walker, Esq.	James Oswald Grim, Esq.
Edmund Haviland.	

*By the Pennsylvania Society, for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c.*

William Rawle, Esq. L.L.D.	Charles S. Cope, Esq.
Jonas Preston, M. D.	Thomas Earle, Esq.
David Weatherly,	John Bouvier, Esq.
Joseph Parker, Esq.	Samuel C. Sheppard,
James Mott,	Thomas Ridgway.

*By the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania.*

Joseph Parish, M. D.	Edwin P. AtLee, M. D.
Henry M. Zollickoffer,	Charles Noble, M. D.

*By the National Anti-Slavery Tract Society of Maryland.*

Benjamin Lundy,	Rev. William Kesly,
John Needles,	William R. Jones.

*By the Washington City Abolition Society.*

John M'Clelland,	Henry Barron,
Ulysses Ward,	Joseph C. Dawes,
Jacob Janney,	John M'Leod,
Robert P. Anderson,	George Crandell,
Matthew Hines,	Thomas Levering,

*By the Benevolent Society of Alexandria for improving the condition of People of Colour.*

Thomas Jacobs,	George Drinker,
Samuel Cornelius,	Samuel M. Janney,
Jonathan Janney,	Benjamin Hallowell
Townshend Waugh,	

Of whom the following were present, viz.

E. Haviland, J. Parker, D. Weatherly, C. S. Cope, S. C. Sheppard, B. Lundy, J. M'Clelland, and T. Levering.

It being understood that several Delegates were on their way to the city, no further business was transacted,

Adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

*December 8th, 7 o'clock, P. M.*

Present, 17 Delegates, viz. Messrs. Haviland, Parker, Weatherly, Cope, Sheppard, Lundy, Jones, M'Clelland, Ward, Jacob Janney, Anderson, Barron, Dawes, M'Leod, Levering, Drinker, and Hallowell.

On motion of B. Lundy, *Resolved*, That this Convention be held with open doors, and that spectators be admitted at all times during its sittings.

The Convention having, on motion, proceeded to an election of officers, the following were accordingly elected, viz.

PRESIDENT, William Rawle, Esq. L. L. D.

VICE PRESIDENT, Joseph Parker, Esq.

SECRETARIES, { Robert P. Anderson,  
                          { Charles S. Cope,

TREASURER, Jonas Preston, M. D.

The following gentlemen were appointed the Committee of Arrangement to prepare the proper business of the Convention, viz. Messrs. Lundy, Jones, Hallowell, Cope, and M'Clelland.

The Treasurer's account was presented, read and referred to Messrs. Sheppard and Cope for examination.

An address from the New York Manumission Society was presented and read.

Ordered, That the stated hour of meeting in the forenoon shall be 10 o'clock.—Adjourned.

*December 9th, 1829, 10 o'clock, A. M.*

Present, Vice President Parker in the chair, and 18 Delegates, viz. Messrs Haviland, Walker, Grim, Weatherly, Earle, Cope, Sheppard, Lundy, Kesly, Needles, Jones, M'Clelland, Ward, Jacob Janney, Anderson, Barron, Dawes, and Levering.

Addresses from the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. from the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania, from the National Anti-Slavery Tract Society of Maryland, from the Washington City Abolition Society, from the Benevolent Society of Alexandria, and from the Board of Managers of the Manumission Society of North Carolina, were severally presented and read.

On motion, the above addresses and also the one from the New York Manumission Society were referred to the committee of arrangement, with instructions to said committee to report what parts of the addresses may require the particular attention of the Convention.

Thomas Earle and William Kesly were, on motion, added to the committee of arrangement.

A Report from the Acting Committee, together with their minutes, was presented and read ; and the following extract from their proceedings directed to be entered on the minutes, viz.

The committee appointed to procure and present to the

pupils of the African Free School in New York, the books directed at the last session of the Convention, respectfully report,

That the books were presented on the 5th of 5th month (May) last, by one of the committee in company with Edmund Haviland, a member of the Convention. A short address was delivered to the scholars on the occasion, encouraging them to persevere in exhibiting to a prejudiced world, that Africans do possess talents when properly cultivated.

The presentation of these volumes was apparently much to the gratification of the boys interested, as well as to the whole school. It is believed also, that the teacher Charles C. Andrews, was much gratified and grateful that the school had been thus honourably noticed by the American Convention.

(Signed) JOSEPH PARKER.

On behalf of the committee.

*Philadelphia, 8th mo. 25, 1829.*

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*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race.*

The Acting Committee in resigning to their successors, the responsible duties of their appointment, deem it proper to submit an abstract of their labours; and to advert to a few of the subjects which will probably engage the attention of the Convention at its approaching Session.

Agreeably to the instruction of the Convention, the committee soon after its appointment subscribed for fifty copies of Stroud's Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery; upon which the Author presented to the committee a like number of copies of the same work. They also subscribed for two copies of the Freedom's Journal, and five copies of the Afri-

can Observer; the publication of both of which has been some time discontinued.

The Minutes of the late Session of the Convention have been printed as directed by that body; also an address to the people of the United States, and both of them partially distributed. The remaining copies have not been forwarded for want of proper opportunities to do so.

A circular letter was prepared and forwarded to societies in England favourable to African Freedom. A short notice of its reception has been received from the African Institution indicating a desire to co-operate with us in our labours. As this was written by the secretary previous to our circular being laid before the Institution, the committee entertain a hope that a more general expression of their views will be received hereafter.

An address to the free people of colour in the United States was prepared and 3000 copies printed in pamphlet form. In the City of Philadelphia considerable pains was taken to disseminate it, and a part of the edition was sent to New York, but a considerable number of copies remain to be circulated.

Since the last Convention, the members of this committee residing in Philadelphia, have been engaged at different periods in preparing and circulating Memorials to Congress and the Legislature of Pennsylvania to procure the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia; and although the object has not yet been attained, the public mind has been enlightened and the committee would recommend that the subject be kept constantly in public view until it is effected.

The situation of the State of Delaware, as a Slave State, with a small slave population claimed the attention of the committee, but no suitable opening for their exertions has yet offered, further than a correspondence with some of the citizens of that State. From the well known character of the Governor the committee are induced to hope that the deplorable evil of slavery will engage his attention and his

influence be exerted to procure its extinction. In order that the subject may be brought before the next meeting of the Legislature, the sub-committee charged with that subject have addressed a letter accompanied by some documents, to a distinguished Citizen of that State, requesting him to promote that object. We would respectfully invite the attention of the Convention to this important subject.

The committee have to regret that owing to the cupidity and prejudice of some persons in the State of Ohio, the coloured population of that State have been cruelly and unjustly required to remove from within its boundaries, unless they give security to prevent their becoming chargeable to the public. The consequence has been to many a great sacrifice of their property and a most heavy affliction to their families.—Thus while in several of the Slave holding States, societies to ameliorate the condition of the African have been greatly increasing, the citizens of a free community refuse even to shelter a man with a darker hue than themselves. May we not hope that the enlightened citizens of that great State will shortly efface this iniquitous law from their statute book.

The education of the children of the free people of colour has always been a prominent object with the Convention. The committee have the pleasure to state that the opportunities for their instruction are increasing. Several schools in the city of Philadelphia have been visited by members of the committee, where about nine hundred children are now receiving education free of expense and about three hundred are instructed in pay schools nearly all of which are taught by coloured persons. In the school of the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of Slavery, &c. girls only, are at present admitted, but the society have it in contemplation to establish a school for boys, in which the higher branches of an elementary education will be taught.

The committee most heartily congratulate the Convention on the late edict of the Mexican Government by which slavery is forever abolished in that country, and they believe

that the benevolent exertions of the British Government to ameliorate the condition of the slaves in their colonies and to elevate the condition of the free people of colour will have a salutary effect on the minds of slave holders and others in the United States.

The secretary of this committee has under his care, subject to the direction of the convention, a few copies of Stroud's Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery, and of the abridgement of Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, together with several copies of the minutes of late sessions of the Convention.

By direction of the Acting Committee of the American Convention for promoting the abolition of slavery and improving the condition of the African race.

THOMAS SHIPLEY, Chairman.

ISAAC BARTON, Secretary.

*Philadelphia, December 3d, 1829.*



On motion of E. Haviland, *Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed to prepare and report rules and regulations for the government of the convention; and Messrs. Haviland, Jones, Waugh, Weatherly, and Dawes were accordingly appointed.

A report from the Committee of Arrangement was read and laid on the table.

Mr. Kesly from the Committee on the State of Slavery in the United States, made a report, which was considered for some time, and on motion of B. Lundy, laid on the table.—Adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

*December 9th, 7 o'clock, P. M.*

Present, Vice President Parker in the chair, and twenty Delegates, viz. Messrs. Haviland, Walker, Grim, Weatherly, Earle, Cope, Sheppard, Lundy, Needles, Kesly, Jones, McClelland, Ward, Jacob Janney, Anderson, Barron, McLeod, Dawes, Crandell and Waugh.

B. Lundy from the committee appointed to procure information in relation to the culture of sugar, cotton, &c. by free labour, made a report, which was read, and on motion of Mr. Kesly referred back to the committee for revision and condensation.

The following resolution offered by the Committee of Arrangement was now considered, viz.

*Resolved*, That this convention memorialize congress for the gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

The resolution having been debated for some time, its farther consideration, was on motion of Mr. M'Clelland, postponed till to-morrow.

That part of the New-York Address relating to the purchase of Texas, was on motion of Mr. Haviland referred to a committee of the whole.

The following report was read and accepted, viz.

*To the American Convention.*—The committee appointed to examine the Treasurer's account, report, That they have attended to the duty assigned them and find the same correct; there being a balance of \$ 37 26 due the Treasurer.

Dec. 9, 1829.

S. C. SHEPPARD, }  
CHARLES S. COPE, } *Committee.*



DR.

## THE AMERICAN CONVENTION IN ACCOUNT WITH JONAS PRESTON, TREASURER.

CR.

1827.			1828.		
10th mo. 30.	To cash paid John Letchworth,	\$ 10 00	10th mo. 24.	By balance from last account,	\$ 53 70
11th " 10.	Do Dr. E. P. AtLee,	3 15	2d " 25.	By cash of Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland,	25 00
12th " 7.	Do Enoch Lewis,	10 00	3d " 22.	Do. Pennsylvania Abolition Society,	50 00
" " 11.	Do, Geo. M. Stroud, Esq.	50 00	10th " 23.	Do. N. York Manumission Society,	50 00
1828.			11th " 17.	Do. Virginia Convention,	10 00
1st mo. 25.	Do. Freedom's Journal,	5 00	" " 18.	By 2 dividends, Bank of Philadelphia, \$ 20 and \$ 16,	36 00
2d " 25.	Do. Benjamin Lundy,	81 98	1829.		
3d " 27.	Do. Joseph Marot,	4 50	3d mo. 27.	By cash of Pennsylvania Abolition Society,	30 00
5th " 17.	Do. Benjamin Lundy,	5 00	11th " 18.	By 2 dividends, Bank of Philadelphia, \$ 20 each,	40 00
1829.			12th " 26.	By balance due Treasurer,	37 26
1st mo. 12.	Do. D. & S. Neal,	1 50			
2d " 9.	Do. Freedom's Journal,	5 00			
" " 27.	Do. James Y. Humphreys,	43 12			
3d " 3.	Do. Samuel Parker,	56 66			
4th " 25.	Do. Samuel Marot,	8 12			
7th " 10.	Do. Bennet & Walton,	3 04			
8th " 26.	Do. Samuel Parker,	14 00			
" " "	Do. Joseph Parker,	10 89			
9th " 15.	Do. S. C. Atkinson,	20 00			
		Dollr. 331 96			Dolla. 331 96

E. E. Philadelphia, 11th mo. 26, 1829.

J. PRESTON.

During the sittings of the Convention the presiding officer received the following sums assessed by the Convention last year, viz.

From the Baltimore Protection Society,	\$ 10 00
“ Washington City Abolition Society,	10 00
“ Benevolent Society of Alexandria,	10 00
“ North Carolina Manumission Society,	5 00

The following gentlemen were appointed a committee to ascertain what sum may be necessary to be raised to defray the current expenses of the Convention, and to apportion the same to the respective societies, viz. Messrs. Walker, Earle, Needles, M'Clelland, and Waugh.

Mr. Earle offered the following, viz.

Whereas but small progress has, of late years, been made in the work of Emancipation, and it is an object of high moment that the purposes for which this Convention was instituted be accelerated as far as practicable; therefore

*Resolved*, 'That a committee of five be appointed to enquire and report what are the principal schemes that have been suggested for effecting the abolition of slavery in the United States, or improving the condition of the African race; what would be the probable effect of each measure if concurred in; and which of the proposed modes is most likely in the present or probably approaching disposition of the public mind, to be effectively adopted.

The above preamble and resolution were adopted and referred to Messrs. Earle, Grim, M'Clelland, Waugh, and S. M. Janney.—Adjourned.

*December 10th, 1829, 10 o'clock, A. M.*

Present, Vice President Parker in the chair, and twenty Delegates, viz. Messrs. Haviland, Walker, Grim, Weatherly, Earle, Cope, Sheppard, Lundy, Needles, Kesly, Jones, M'Clelland, Barron, Dawes, Anderson, Jacob Janney, Crandell, Waugh, Drinker, and S. M. Janney.

Mr. Haviland from the committee to prepare Rules for the government of the Convention, made a report which was read

and accepted; and the regulations submitted were adopted as the By-Laws of the Convention. (vide Appendix, Part 2, No. 2.)

The Committee of Arrangement made a second report, which was read and laid on the table.

The following resolution offered by the Committee of Arrangement was adopted, viz.

*Resolved*, That the several addresses, from the various Manumission, Anti-Slavery Societies, &c. be published with the Minutes of the Convention.

The following resolution offered by the Committee of Arrangement, was, after some debate, referred to a committee of the whole, viz.

*Resolved*, That this Convention memorialize Congress on the Internal Slave Trade.

On motion, the Convention went into committee of the whole, Mr. Sheppard in the chair, on the subject of memorializing Congress on the gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

On the rising of the committee, the chairman reported, that they had resolved, That it was expedient to adopt the resolution offered by the Committee of Arrangement; which report was concurred in by the Convention.

On the question of concurring, the ayes and nays being called for, were as follows, viz.

Ayes—Messrs. Parker, Weatherly, Earle, Cope, Sheppard, Kesly, Lundy, Jones, Needles, Waugh, Barron, Dawes, Jacob Janney, Anderson and Crandell.—15.

Nays.—Messrs. Walker, Grim, M'Clelland, Drinker, and S. M. Janney.—5.

The resolution was accordingly adopted; and Messrs. Kesly, Lundy, Jones, Earle and Walker were appointed a committee to draft a memorial in conformity thereto.

Mr. Grim offered the following: viz.

*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to draft a memorial to the Legislatures of the several States, urging upon them the propriety of instructing their senators and request-

ing their representatives in the Congress of the United States, to use their endeavors to procure the passage of a law providing for the gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

The above resolution was adopted and Messrs. Grim, S. M. Janney, M'Clelland, Haviland and Jones appointed the committee.

On motion of Mr. Grim, *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the several societies represented in this convention to prepare and circulate memorials for the signatures of the citizens of the states in which such societies are located, praying the legislatures thereof to instruct their senators, and request their representatives in Congress, to use their endeavors to procure the passage of a law, providing for the gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.—Adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

*December 10th, 7 o'clock, P. M.*

Present, Vice President Parker in the chair and 18 Delegates, viz. Messrs. Haviland, Walker, Grim, Earle, Cope, Sheppard, Lundy, Kesly, Needles, Jones, M'Clelland, Ward, Jacob Janney, Anderson, Dawes, Barron, M'Leod, and Waugh.

The two following amendments, offered at the last session and brought up in the report of the Committee of Arrangement, were considered and adopted, viz.

*Resolved*, That the Constitution be so amended that the first section of article second, read as follows, "meet biennially in the City of Washington, D. C. on the second Monday in January."

*Resolved*, That so much of the Constitution in article third, section fourth as reads thus "one of them shall reside in Philadelphia and have charge of the records," shall be stricken out.

The following amendment was negatived, viz.

*Resolved*, That after the word "President" article third

section first in the Constitution, the word three be added, so as to read "three Vice Presidents, &c."

The report on the state of Slavery in the United States was called up, debated at length, and again laid on the table.

On motion of Mr. Lundy, *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to prepare an address to the public on the objects and present prospects of this Convention. And Messrs. Lundy, M'Leod, and Needles were accordingly appointed.

Messrs. Dawes, Sheppard and Jones were appointed a committee to prepare an address to the various Manumission and Anti-Slavery societies, &c.

On motion, the Convention went into committee of the whole, Mr. Needles in the chair, on the subject of memorializing Congress on the Internal Slave Trade.

On the rising of the committee the chairman reported progress and asked leave to sit again; which was not granted by the Convention.

The Resolution as offered by the Committee of Arrangement was then adopted, viz.

*Resolved*, That this Convention memorialize Congress on the Internal Slave Trade.

On motion of Mr. Haviland, the committee appointed to prepare a memorial to Congress for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, was instructed to incorporate the above subject in the memorial.—Adjourned.

*December 11th, 1829. 10 o'clock, A. M.*

Present, Vice President Parker in the chair and 22 Delegates, viz. Messrs. Haviland, Walker, Grim, Weatherly, Earle, Cope, Sheppard, Lundy, Needles, Kesly, Jones, M'Clelland, Ward, Anderson, Barron, Dawes, M'Leod, Jacob Janney, Thomas Jacobs, Waugh, Drinker and Hallowell.

The Committee of Arrangement made a third and final report which was read and laid on the table.

The following report was read and accepted, viz.

To THE AMERICAN CONVENTION,—The committee appointed to procure information in relation to the culture of sugar, cotton, &c. on this continent by free labor,

*Respectfully State*,—That owing to the inadequacy of the means to make the requisite investigations, your committee has not been able since the last session of the Convention to acquire much information of any farther general facts. The following notice of the cultivation of sugar in Mexico, to which your committee then briefly adverted has been obtained through the medium of the London Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter for August, 1829. It is an extract of a letter from Mr. Ward, Mexican Envoy of the British Government to the Right Honourable George Canning, viz.

*Mexico, March 13, 1826.*

“SIR,—The possibility of introducing a system of free labour into the West India Islands having been so much discussed in England, I conceived that it might not be uninteresting to His Majesty’s Government to receive some details respecting the result of the experiment in this country, where it certainly has had a fair trial.

“I accordingly took advantage of Mr. Morier’s prolonged stay here to visit the Valley of Cuernavaca, and Cuantla Amilpas, which supplies a great part of the federation with sugar and coffee, although not a single slave is at present employed in their cultivation.

“I have the honour to inclose a sketch of the observations which I was enabled to make upon this journey, together with such details as I have thought best calculated to show both the scale upon which these estates are worked, and the complete success with which the abolition of slavery has, in this instance been attended.

“The valley which extends almost uninterruptedly from Cuernavaca to Cuantla Amilpas and Jyncar (covering a space of about forty miles,) is situated on the road to Acapul-

co, at the foot of the first range of mountains by which the descent from the Table Land towards the south-west commences, about fifty miles from the Capital.

“It is about 2,000 feet lower than the Table Land of Mexico. The difference of temperature is proportionably great, so that two days are sufficient to transport the traveller into the very midst of *Tierra Caliente*.

“It is believed that the sugar-cane was first planted there about one hundred years ago; from that time the number of sugar-estates has gone on increasing, until there is now hardly an acre of ground on the whole plain which is not turned to account.

“The cultivation was originally carried on entirely by slaves, who were purchased at Vera Cruz, at from 300 to 400 dollars each.

“It was found, however, that this system was attended with considerable inconvenience, it being impossible to secure a sufficient supply of slaves during a war. The losses likewise, at all times, were great, as many of the slaves were unable to support the fatigue and changes of temperature, to which they were exposed on the journey from Vera Cruz to Curnavaca, and perished, either on the road, or soon after their arrival.

“Several of the great proprietors were induced by these circumstances to give liberty to a certain number of their slaves annually, and by encouraging marriages between them and the Indians of the country, to propagate a race of free labourers, who might be employed when a supply of slaves was no longer to be obtained.

“This plan proved so eminently successful that on some of the largest estates there was not a single slave in the year 1808.

“The policy of the measure became still more apparent on the breaking out of the revolution in 1810.

“The planters who had not adopted the system of gradual emancipation before that period saw themselves abandoned, and were forced, in many instances, to give up working

their estates, as their slaves took advantage of the approach of the insurgents to join them en masse ; while those who had provided themselves with a mixed cast of free labourers, retained, even during the worst times, a sufficient number of men to enable them to continue to cultivate their lands, although upon a smaller scale."

The same work for September 1829, speaking of free and slave labour, remarks.

"The controversy is fast tending to its termination. The march of events will scarcely leave room much longer, either for misrepresentation or misapprehension. The facilities already given in Bengal by Lord W. Bentinck, to the investment of British capital and the development of British skill in the cultivation of the soil ; the almost certainty that those fiscal regulations which have hitherto depressed the growth of sugar in Bengal, and prevented the large increase of its imports into this country, will soon be repealed ; the prospect of an early removal of the other restrictions which still fetter the commerce of our Eastern possessions: the rapidly increasing population and prosperity of Hayti ; the official statements of Mr. Ward, as to the profitable culture of sugar by free labour in Mexico ; and the rapid extension of the manufacture of beet root sugar in France ; a prelude as we conceive, to its introduction into this country, and especially into Ireland ; all these circumstances combined, afford a promise which can scarcely fail of seeing a death blow inflicted on the culture of sugar by slave-labour, which all the misrepresentations of all the slave holders in the world, with all their clamorous partisans in this country cannot avert, or even long retard."

Since their views have been directed to the subject, your committee are fully satisfied that its further investigation will be highly important ; and that at no very distant period, *the results of very interesting experiments nearer home may be obtained.*

Respectfully Submitted,

B. LUNDY, Chairman.

Baltimore, December 1, 1829.



On motion, the committee was continued with instructions to report to the next Convention; Samuel M. Janney and John Needles were appointed on the committee in place of the gentlemen not present at this Convention; and the committee now consists of Messrs. Lundy, Parker, Kesly, S. M. Janney and Needles.

The subject of the purchase of Texas, referred to a committee of the whole, being brought before the Convention, said reference was, on motion of Mr. Haviland, rescinded, and the subject recommended to the particular attention of the Acting Committee.

The resolution relative to publishing books, &c. laid over from the last session, and brought up in the report of the Committee of Arrangement, was now considered and having been amended, was adopted, viz.

*Resolved*, That any surplus funds in the Treasury may be appropriated by the Acting Committee to the publishing of books, pamphlets and tracts, that may have a tendency to enlighten and correct public opinion on the subject of Slavery in the United States, and the said committee is requested to select, publish and distribute them as they may judge expedient.

Mr. Dawes from the committee appointed for the purpose, reported an Address, which being amended, was adopted as follows.

*To the Manumission, Anti-Slavery Societies, &c. throughout the United States.*

**FELLOW CITIZENS**,—The American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. now sitting at Washington, in the District of Columbia, having seriously taken into consideration the state of slavery in the said district, and in the United States generally, and viewed what furtherance the cause of freedom has received for some time past, are decidedly of opinion, that increasing efforts are at this time, emphatically called for, on the part of those who really think that “all men are created free and equal.”

Memorial after memorial has been presented to Congress, but as yet they have produced but little visible effect. Small progress has been made towards abolishing slavery at the seat of our National Government. It has been a subject of much reflection what measures would be most likely to accomplish the grand object of our labours; and we would suggest whether greater success would not be likely to crown our efforts, by more widely disseminating a knowledge of the objects and principles of the different Anti-Slavery Societies throughout the Union. The subject has been referred at this session to our Acting Committee, but our funds are too limited to act as extensively as the great importance of the object requires. It is believed that a very large portion of the citizens of the United States are favorable to the emancipation of the people of colour, if it could be done upon legitimate principles, without infringing upon the rights of individuals or endangering the safety of the community; and if the dissemination of our principles was more generally attended to, co-adjuting societies would doubtless increase, and this Convention eventually become a body so numerous and respectable, that the National Government would not withhold its attention.

The proper education of the African race should form a prominent feature in all our efforts. It is with much gratification we are enabled to state that the address from New York, mentions a continued advancement in the literary improvement of the coloured children, and that from Philadelphia holds out the prospect of the establishment of a school for teaching them the higher branches of an English education and thus enabling them to act as teachers of their own isolated race. To break up the fallow ground, to sow the seed, and rear the tender plants of virtue in this degraded people, should be the wish of every heart and the effort of every hand. Let us establish schools, instruct the children, and show to the world that the mind of the African is not a soil where genius sickens and every virtue dies.

When we reflect that man is a being whose own interest

generally forms the alpha and omega, beginning and end of life, a centre around which every passion and affection of his heart revolves, a boundary beyond which he seldom ventures, we are rather encouraged at the progress of our cause, than deterred by the magnitude of the work to be yet accomplished. Have not thousands been liberated, and the condition of tens of thousands improved? We believe there is a secret fire enkindled in the public bosom which will never be extinguished, until liberty be given to the captive and freedom to the oppressed. But this glorious principle needs to be encouraged and kept alive by the increasing efforts of its friends, to show to the world that they themselves are not weary of well-doing. Prejudices imbibed in youth and strengthened by age are to be broken down, and many an objection to be overcome.

In conclusion we would remark that although much censure has been cast upon us, we are renewedly convinced of the goodness and the justice of our cause. Let us exhort you to a patient continuance in your labours; and "the bread cast upon the waters, shall be found after many days."

The following Memorial was reported by Mr. Kesly, and having been amended, was adopted as follows:

To the Hon. the Senate and House of Representative, of the United States, in Congress assembled.

The Memorial of the American Convention, &c,

*Respectfully Sheweth*—That your memorialists, citizens of the United States, feel grateful to that Divine Providence, who hath so gloriously protected this nation in the enjoyment of all the privileges of freemen; and whose parental care still preserves to us untrammelled, the right of conscience, and affords to our free citizens all needful facilities in the pursuit and enjoyment of as full a share of happiness as the present condition of man is susceptible of. But while thus enjoying all the blessings of Heaven's richest bounty, your memorialists have viewed with deep regret and heartfelt sorrow, the dark stain on our national character, which is inflicted by the existence of slavery in the District of Co-

lumbia. That district being the common property of the nation, and immediately under the control of congress; whatever enormity may be legally permitted therein, becomes the common concern of the whole confederacy. Furthermore if slavery be an evil both moral and political as is generally admitted at the present day, it would seem that the whole nation becomes implicated in its support, so long as it remains sanctioned by law in that district which is the seat of our government, and depository of our rights. Your memorialists therefore, feeling in common with many thousands of their fellow citizens, unwilling to sanction so great an evil, and desirous to do all that is in their power towards its removal, beg leave, earnestly, yet respectfully, to urge the consideration of this subject, on the attention of congress.

Your memorialists are aware that difficulties are found in the way of an immediate emancipation of those slaves now existing; arising out of a supposed right of property in those who hold them; as well as from a disqualification for self-government on the part of the slaves themselves, but which would be entirely obviated by an enactment providing that from and after a given date all persons born within the district, shall be free at a given age. By the enactment of such a law the wishes of a very large proportion of the individuals represented by your honorable body, it is believed would be met; and that so much at least, ought to be done by the national legislature, seems to be demanded not only by the claims of humanity and justice, but also by those of patriotism and consistency. Amongst the first acts of the congress of this Union, was one to abolish the African slave trade; and our whole existence as a nation is based on the principle that "all men are created equal;" and shall the congress of these states at the present day, hesitate to declare, that henceforth and forever, the child that is born within the limits of its special legislation, shall breathe an atmosphere of liberty?

Under a full conviction that the true interest of the nation requires the interposition of congress in this important

matter; and with a full and entire reliance on the wisdom of your honorable body; your memorialists decline any argument to prove the justice or reasonableness of their prayer, or to show the obligation that lies upon the legislature of this happy country, to interpose its authority in behalf of the offspring of these subjects of oppression, and thus remove the odium which attaches to the American name by the existence of slavery in the national domain.

Your memorialists would also intreat your attention to the necessity of passing laws for the prevention of kidnapping, and the scenes of cruelty connected with the slave trade in the District of Columbia, until its final abolition.

Many of the African race, purchased for a distant market, are concentrated here, where the sounds of the clanking fetters mingle with the voice of the American statesmen, legislating for a free people.

This district, from its central situation, has become a depot of slaves, purchased and introduced by dealers from other states, and here incarcerated till the time of their transportation arrives. In near view from the capital, are private jails, from whose walls issue the agonizing cries of those separated from kindred and friends, revolting to every citizen and philanthropist. Here, through the defect of existing laws, facilities are afforded persons denominated slave traders, to consign to perpetual bondage those who are entitled to freedom after a term of years, and the people regard with abhorrence and pain, a traffic extensively carried on by those who prefer wealth to the love and esteem of mankind.

In this district whether its citizens be the friends or opponents of the abolition of slavery, they regard this traffic as alike dishonorable to our character as Americans and christians, and demanding the interposition of the government. The honor of our common country, a respect for the opinions of mankind, the ardent desire of our patriots and statesmen to remove the curse of slavery entailed on us while colonies,

when it can successfully be done, call for your interference on this momentous subject.

On motion of Mr. Waugh the above memorial was referred to the attention of the Acting Committee; with instructions to present it at the present or a subsequent session of congress, as they might consider most expedient. On the adoption of this motion the ayes and nays were as follows:

Ayes--Messrs. Haviland, Walker, Grim, Earle, Weatherly, Sheppard, Jones, Needles, M'Clelland, Jacob Janney, Waugh, Drinker and Hallowell.—13.

Nays.—Messrs. Parker, Cope, Lundy, Ward, Anderson, Barron and M'Leod.—7.—Adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

*December 11th, 7 o'clock P. M.*

Present, Vice President Parker in the chair and 20 Delegates, viz. Messrs. Haviland, Walker, Grim, Weatherly, Earle, Cope, Sheppard, Lundy, Needles, Jones, M'Clelland, Ward, Jacob Janney, Anderson, Barron, Dawes, M'Leod, Waugh, Drinker and Hallowell.

The Vice President announced the following gentlemen to serve as the Acting Committee of this Convention, viz. Messrs. Hallowell, Waugh, M'Clelland, Jacob Janney, Lundy, Jones, Preston, AtLee, Earle, Noble, Ridgway, Cope, Sheppard, Walker and Haviland.

On motion of B. Hallowell, Vice President Parker, was added to the above committee.

On motion of C. S. Cope, *Resolved*, That the Convention feel great pleasure in recording the following Resolution of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, on the minutes, viz.

No. 1. Resolution relative to the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

*Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, That the Senators of this State, in the Senate of the United States, be and they are hereby instructed, and the Representatives of this State in Congress, be and they are*

*hereby requested to procure if practicable, the passage of a law to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, in such a manner as they may consider consistent with the rights of individuals and the Constitution of the United States.*

*Resolved, That the Governor be and he is hereby requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing Resolution, to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.*

**NER MIDDLESWARTH,**

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

**DANIEL STURGEON,**

Speaker of the Senate.

Approved the twenty-third day of January, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine.

**J. ANDW. SHULZE.**

Pamphlet Laws, 1828-9, p. 371.

Mr. Lundy from the committee on the Internal Slave Trade, submitted a report which was read and accepted.

The following report was read and accepted, viz.

**TO THE AMERICAN CONVENTION, &c.**—The committee appointed to draft a memorial to the legislatures of the several states praying that their representatives in Congress may be requested, and their senators instructed to use their exertions to procure the passage of an act for the gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia,

Respectfully report, That they have prepared and herewith present the draft of such a memorial for the consideration of the Convention.

**JAMES OSWALD GRIM,**

December 11, 1829.

Chairman.

To the Honorable the legislature of the state of

The Memorial of "The American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery and improving the condition of the African race" assembled at Washington, in the District of Columbia,

Respectfully Represents,—That feeling a strong solicitude to advance the object for which they are associated, your

memorialists approach your honorable body for its concurrence and aid upon a matter which they conceive to be of great interest to the American people. That the existence of slavery within the United States is a great evil and one for which an adequate remedy is, of all national objects the most to be desired, is a truth in which the whole body of our fellow-citizens have for a long time acquiesced; but whether its ultimate and entire removal is ever to be effected, compatibly with that justice to the parties concerned upon which it should be based, is a problem that remains to be solved, but to which philanthropists are now daily directing their attention.

The success however which has attended the efforts of many of the States of the Union, who at an early period of our national history were encumbered by the same evil in a lesser degree but who have since been successful in removing it, induce a hope in your memorialists that slavery may be abolished in the District of Columbia. That if possible it *ought* to be, some interesting considerations of a local character, peculiarly dictate. The significant and peculiar silence discovered upon the face of the constitutional compact of the land, upon the great subject of human servitude with which the country then was burthened, the care which was observed by the sages, who framed the instrument, not to employ a term in its structure which might in after years and in times of universal freedom, be appealed to for the purpose of accusation or reproach, enjoin it, we think as a strong and imperative duty to their successors to remove this growing evil from the seat of the councils of the nation and the limits emphatically of the national domain. Without therefore attempting to interfere with the exclusive duties of state sovereignties, it is incumbent we think upon national legislators, to give effect to the noble and benign spirit of the great charter under which they are convened, by devising and enacting measures for the gradual emancipation of all who are in a state of servitude in the District of Columbia. Nor can we for a moment believe that it is a subject upon



which local situation can give rise to any diversity of sentiment among Americans at large. The dictates of patriotic pride and of national consistency must have the same force with all of them.

The people of these states have cause to be distinguished for numerous occasions upon which, and that too in many instances by discarding all interested considerations they have sought the establishment of great national principles. Without adverting to the events connected with the origin of their independence, further than to say that they were founded in a regard for free principles in the abstract, more than in any practical evil under which they were suffering, we may mention the extension of the principles of free trade, the abolition of private warfare on the ocean, the denunciation of the African slave trade as piracy, &c. as propositions by which our country has endeavoured to discharge its duty in the great family of nations. From a people thus naturally disposed, what may not be expected? What circumstances of accident or temporary advantage will be able to stifle the strengthening voice of freedom and manly justice?

The friends of Abolition must indeed expect that the object can only be obtained by very gradual means, but a period no matter how distant, for the certain operation of any principle which may have the desired effect, must afford a great degree of satisfaction to every friend of equal rights and every well wisher of the reputation of his country.

This object however cannot be obtained except perhaps at a distance of time now invisible, unless the wishes of the states with regard to it are audibly expressed. Congress have been heretofore memorialized on this subject, but as they were not guided by any expression of the wishes of their constituents, no satisfactory result was produced. But the great body of the American people never can be indifferent to a matter of this nature, and the friends of the cause of Abolition have taken measures to draw the attention of Congress once more to it.

Your memorialists therefore respectfully request your Honorable body to instruct your senators and request your representatives in Congress, to use all their efforts for the passage of a law, which may have for its end the gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, upon principles of justice and a regard to the rights of individuals.

Ordered, That the above memorial be signed by the officers of the Convention and that the Acting Committee be charged with the presentation of the same.

Thomas Earle presented the following report, which was read and accepted viz.

The committee to whom was referred the consideration of the various proposed schemes for effecting the abolition of slavery and improving the condition of the African race, respectfully report:

That it has been proposed, as a preliminary to complete emancipation, to reduce slaves to the condition of the serfs of Poland and Russia, fixed to the soil, without the right on the part of the master to remove them. It appears extremely doubtful to your committee whether such a measure would in any degree accelerate entire emancipation. The proposition moreover, has not received that degree of public approbation which is necessary to justify any expectation of its speedy adoption.

Some individuals have believed it perfectly safe and judicious, to obtain, if practicable, legislative enactments for the immediate liberation of all slaves. Propositions of this nature are met by a reprobation so universal on the part of the citizens of those states where slavery exists, who have undoubtedly the best means of judging of the probable consequences, that it may be considered certain they will not be adopted. Gradual abolition is the only mode which at present appears likely to receive the public sanction.

Another proposition has been that those who are not owners of slaves should abstain from the products of slave labour, and thus by destroying the market compel emancipation. Your committee are of opinion that it would be far

easier to persuade the majority of the people to pass laws for the abolition of slavery than to break off all commercial intercourse with slave holders. The more practicable measure would render the less practicable, unnecessary.

It seems probable, however, that the example of individuals who, from conscientious motives, abstain from the produce of slavery, will have its uses in exciting public attention to the nature and magnitude of the evil which leads to these instances of self denial.

It has been strenuously urged that there is less pecuniary profit in the employment of slave labour, than in that of freemen, and that the extensive promulgation of this truth will be effective in inducing slave holders, from motives of interest, to consent to emancipation. Although this doctrine has been promulgated for several years, facts have not been adduced sufficient to carry general conviction to the minds of those interested. Unless some evidence of a more conclusive or effectual nature can be adduced, it appears that little good can be expected from the agitation of this matter.

But in whatever degree the question of immediate pecuniary profit may be unsettled, the evils of slavery in affecting the morals and happiness of society, in abridging public and private enterprize, in promoting idleness and extravagance, and in accelerating the impoverishment of land, are sufficiently capable of demonstration, and are indeed freely admitted by many slave holders. To continue to call the attention of the people to these effects, will undoubtedly be useful in the furtherance of the grand object of our aim.

The passage of laws by our state legislatures, fixing a certain period after which all persons shall be born free, or shall be free at a certain age, is a proposed measure which has formerly received the sanction of this Convention. It is analagous to those which have already been adopted in some of our states, and it is that by which the final extinction of slavery will probably be effected throughout our country. But it seems unlikely that those states where slaves are very numerous, will consent to the measure, until the

proportion of slaves has been considerably reduced by other means. It can hardly be expected that the whites, where they are a minority, will, at any near period of time, consent to surrender political power into the hands of a race which they are accustomed to look upon as inferior and degraded, or that they will be free from apprehensions of a contest for property as the probable result. History furnishes no instance of the passage of a law for abolishing slavery in a nation where the slaves at the time of its passage were nearly equal in number to the freemen. We have no evidence to justify the assumption, that mankind in future, will act differently. The condition of some of our states, nevertheless, is such, that measures of this kind may with great propriety be urged, and kept constantly in view of the public.

Appeals to a sense of justice, and the dictates of religion, operating on individuals to produce voluntary emancipation, have been the chief means by which slavery has been abolished or greatly reduced, in most countries where it once extensively existed. Such were the means of the liberation of serfs in Great Britain and other European countries.\* They are those which have produced the emancipation of most of the free coloured people now existing in the United States. They are those which must be looked to, for so far diminishing the evil, as to produce that state of society in which the passage of laws for complete abolition may be obtained. But unfortunately a sense of danger, mingled with other motives of policy or interest, has produced the enactment of laws in most of the slave holding

\* "The holy fathers, monks and friars, had in their confessions and specially in their extreme and deadly sickness, convinced the laity how dangerous a practice it was, for one christian man to hold another in bondage: so that temporal men by little and little, by reason of that terror in their consciences, were glad to manumit all their villeins."—Sir T. Smith His. Common. vide 2. Blackstone, p. 96.

states, prohibiting or greatly limiting the exercise of benevolent feelings in this way. The repeal of these laws must be the first or an early measure towards the completion of the great work.

It has been supposed that adequate provision for the colonization of emancipated persons in Africa, Hayti, or other foreign or domestic territory, would tend to produce the repeal of those laws, as well as of those which restrict the education of slaves, and would thus pave the way for the adoption of laws for complete emancipation. If, in this way, the number of slaves could be kept stationary, while that of the free whites should continue to increase, the relative proportions would ere long be obtained which would justify the hopes of legislative interference. The interference of legislatures does not depend so much on the number of slaves, as upon their proportion to the free inhabitants. This position is illustrated by the fact that in New York where slavery is now extinct, the number of slaves in 1820 was ten thousand and eighty-eight, while in Delaware, where no laws for emancipation have been passed, the number was only four thousand five hundred and nine.

We are informed that a conviction of the injurious effects of the presence of free blacks, is general in the slave-holding states, even perhaps among those citizens who have no property invested in slaves. We are also assured and believe that there are great numbers of persons in those states who would emancipate their slaves, if a suitable asylum abroad were provided for them; and that the number of individuals of this description is likely greatly to increase if ample means of emigration are provided.\*

The question therefore arises, whether colonization to any considerable extent is practicable. The solution of this question depends, in a degree, upon the expense, and the means which there is reason to hope may be commanded.

\* Two thousand slaves are said to be now offered to the Colonization Society, for transportation.

The public mind in the greater portion of our country appears more favourable to colonization than to any other proposed means of emancipation, as may be gathered from the resolutions and laws adopted by Congress, and by various State Legislatures, as well as from inquiry into the sentiments of private individuals. Consequently, if adequate colonization could be effected by the national government without materially embarrassing its operations, or requiring the imposition of new taxes upon the people, there is reason to hope for its realization. The question of expense and practicability is, we apprehend, too often decided hastily, and without those accurate calculations which can alone justify a positive conclusion.

We will therefore state the results of some of our inquiries. The number of slaves in the United States is rather under two millions;\* and the annual increase is something less than two and a half *per centum* on the population of the preceding year.† The total increase per annum, is therefore short of fifty thousand. The expense of transportation to Africa in merchant vessels will not exceed thirty dollars per head, and to Hayti from ten to fifteen dollars per head. The expense of transporting the increase, half to each of the above named countries, would therefore be from one million to one million one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars yearly. If we add two dollars per head for corn to maintain the emigrants until they can provide for themselves, the total expense will not exceed one and one fourth million of dollars per annum.

The average annual revenue of the national government

\* The slave population in 1810 was 1,191,364; in 1820, 1,531,436. Increasing in the same ratio, in 1830 it will be 1,948,587.

† The increase in ten years is about twenty-eight per centum, but as the increase of the latter portion of the period is much greater than that of the former portion, it will be evident that our estimate for a single year is correct.

may be estimated at twenty-three millions;\* and the annual expenditure exclusive of the public debt, is about twelve millions. As the public debt will be extinct in four or five years, there will shortly be a surplus revenue of about eleven millions yearly. One eighth of this sum will be sufficient for transporting the whole increase of slave population.

Again: the annual expenditure of the Naval Department of the United States, was estimated in 1827 at \$4,263,877; and in 1828 at \$4,420,000.† This expenditure is more than treble that of the same department, at some periods of our history. Without expressing any opinion of the propriety of this expenditure, a question not proper for this Convention to decide, we may remark that rational men will readily admit that it would be wiser to reduce the expenditure one half, and abolish slavery, than to continue both the expenditure and the servitude. A reduction of one half in the naval expenditures would produce a fund of \$2,200,000 per annum; a sum sufficient to transport to Africa and Hayti, ninety thousand slaves per annum, or forty thousand more than the annual increase. We offer this observation merely in illustration of the ease with which the government *can* command the necessary funds without any sacrifice that is not greatly overbalanced by the importance of the object. There would, however, be no occasion for retrenching any of the present expenditures of the government.

It has been suggested that the public vessels of the nation, most of which are useless during peace, should be employed in the transportation of emancipated persons. The number of these vessels is about fifty, and the average number of persons which they could transport at a voyage, may be estimated at one thousand, although the ships of the line, of which there are twelve built and building, can transport two thousand five hundred each, at a voyage. These vessels

\* In 1828 it was \$24,789,463. See Treasury Report for 1829.

† Treasury Reports.

going one half to Africa, and one half to Hayti, and the former making two and the latter four voyages per year, would transport one hundred and fifty thousand persons per annum, or three times the increase of slaves; and would at this rate extinguish slavery in twenty years. The whole increase of slaves might therefore be transported in public vessels, without interfering with other national objects, or very materially increasing the national expenses.

We will now consider the effect of transporting the increase. The present population of the slave holding states is about 5,800,000, of which above 3,800,000, are freemen; perhaps from one third to one half the free people are interested in slave property. If the increase of slaves were colonized, in about twenty-five years there would be in the slave states, seven millions of free people to two millions of slaves; and in the whole Union near twenty-nine millions of free people to the above number of slaves, or a proportion of ten to one. The consequent increased ease, safety, and probability of obtaining laws for total emancipation, is manifest.

Thus the practicability of great benefit, with little sacrifice, from the aid of government in the work of emigration, is very apparent. A great recommendation of the measure arises from the fact, that it is the only efficient one which is likely to be speedily sanctioned by the people; and is the only one by which voluntary emancipation, in most of the slave holding states, can be effected.

Even if colonization should not be adopted to the extent of carrying away the whole increase, it ought still to be encouraged. It is considered a great and good work to have obtained by law, the emancipation of about fourteen or fifteen thousand persons in New York and Pennsylvania. If so, the emancipation of no more than that number, by aid of emigration to suitable countries, would also be a work worthy the united efforts of the friends of abolition.

Your committee do not look to the transportation of the whole coloured population from this country, at any period.



Emancipation will be effected without it. But partial emigration may greatly aid the cause; particularly in its early stages, by preparing the way for the repeal of the laws against education and against voluntary emancipation.

Under the influence of the foregoing considerations your committee would recommend, that the friends of emancipation persevere in their efforts to convince the whole community of the pernicious effects of slavery on the morals, the enterprize, and the happiness of a people.

That they continue in temperate and conciliatory language to illustrate the inconsistency of bondage with sound political doctrines, as well as with the obligations of justice and religion.

That they constantly endeavour to procure the repeal of those laws which restrict the education and emancipation of slaves.

That they exert themselves, particularly in the states where slaves are the least numerous, to procure the speedy passage of laws for gradual abolition.

That they endeavour to procure from the National Government the appropriation of adequate funds to aid the voluntary emigration of all emancipated people of colour, to any country where a suitable asylum may be found: and that, as an auxilliary means, they petition the state legislatures for the passage of resolutions approbatory of such measure.

That they cordially aid in any just mode of promoting abolitions which is favourably received by the people, without insisting on a preference of other modes, which might be abstractedly the best, but are not likely to be generally adopted.—All of which is respectfully submitted.

On behalf of the Committee,

T. EARLE, Chairman.

*December 11th, 1829.*

**Ordered, That the above Committee be continued, with leave to make a further report to the next Convention.**

**Adjourned.**

*December 12th, 1829, 10 o'clock, A. M.*

**Present, Vice President Parker in the chair, and 17 Delegates, viz. Messrs Haviland, Walker, Grim, Weatherly, Earle, Cope, Sheppard, Lundy, Jones, M'Clelland, Ward, Jacob Janney, Anderson, Barron, Dawes, Waugh and Hallowell.**

**The Vice President announced the following gentlemen to serve on the Standing Committees, viz.**

**On the African Slave Trade, Messrs. Haviland, Walker and Grim.**

**On the Internal Slave Trade, Messrs. Drinker, Waugh, Anderson and Barron.**

**On the State of Slavery in the United States, Messrs. Kesly, Lundy and Needles.**

**On the Laws of the United States in relation to Slaves and free people of colour, Messrs. Samuel M. Janney, Thos. Jacobs, Jacob Janney and Jos. C. Dawes.**

**On Kidnapping, Messrs. Hallowell, Jonathan Janney, M'Leod and Ward.**

**Reports from the above Committees are to be made to the next Convention.**

**Mr. Earle, seconded by Mr. Sheppard, offered the following, viz.**

***Resolved*, That this Convention will hold an adjourned session;—which resolution was negatived.**

**The following amendment to the Constitution was offered, viz, *Resolved*, That the 1st. sec. of article 2nd of the Constitution, be amended by striking out the words "meet biennially in the city of Washington, D. C. on the second Monday in January," and inserting the words "meet biennially in Philadelphia on the first Tuesday in December."**

The committee appointed to ascertain what sum should be raised to defray the expenses of the Convention, Reported, That they considered the sum of one hundred and thirty-five dollars to be sufficient, which they had apportioned as follows,

New York Manumission Society,	\$ 40 00
Pennsylvania Abolition Society,	40 00
Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland,	30 00
Delaware Abolition Society,	10 00
Washington City Abolition Society,	5 00
Benevolent Society of Alexandria,	5 00
Manumission Society of North Carolina,	5 00

On behalf of the Committee,

**CHARLES WALKER, Chairman.**

*December 12th, 1829.*

On motion, the above report was accepted, and the several societies requested to remit their respective quotas to the Treasurer, Dr. Jonas Preston, Philadelphia.

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The Committee appointed to prepare an address to the public on the objects and present prospects of this Convention, have attended to the duty of their appointment, and prepared a draft of an address, which they now respectfully submit to the Convention.

*For the Committee,*

**B. LUNDY, Chairman.**

### TO THE PUBLIC.

“The American Convention for promoting the abolition of slavery and improving the condition of the African race,” having met for the first time at the city of Washington,

deem it proper to address the public in general, relative to the objects and present prospects of the Institution.

We do not consider it necessary to enter into a detail of the history of our proceedings, in this address; neither shall we attempt to adduce any argument to prove the justice of our cause. The first is within the reach of those generally, who take an interest in the success of our undertaking; the last stands undenied and undeniable, among men of the least pretensions to virtue and candor. But having located this Convention at the seat of the National Government, many of our fellow citizens, who have never acquainted themselves with our proceedings, may be desirous to know the objects we have in view, as well as our prospects of success. A compliance with a wish so reasonable, we deem incumbent on us; and we shall frankly state our views and ultimate design.

The sole aim and end of this Convention ever has been, and now is, the abolition of slavery and improvement of the African race, (as its title imports,) in the United States; upon the principles of justice, equity and safety. The means by which it seeks to accomplish this great work, are:

1st. To enlighten the public mind, relative to the actual state of the slave system.

2nd. To concentrate the opinions and labors of philanthropists in every portion of the country, respecting the adoption of measures for its abolition.

3d. To give efficiency to the labors of individuals, and the various kindred associations in different parts of the Union, by petitions and memorials to the constituted authorities, accompanied by such information as may be useful to them.

4th. To point out the best and most practical modes of lessening the evils resulting from that system, during its existence in this republic.

With these views the Convention was originally organized, and upon these principles it has ever proceeded. It

has been eminently successful in promoting the cause of emancipation in that portion of the Union, where it was at first located ; and we consider it strictly within the bounds of reason to infer, from past experience, that it will exert a salutary influence where it is now established. As the light of liberty advances, and the bright luminary of truth shines through the mists of popular error, the labors of the advocates of emancipation will be duly appreciated and their laudable exertions crowned with success.

If we may be allowed to compare the exertions of philanthropists at the present day, with those of former periods in the history of our country, the most sanguine anticipations of future success may be indulged. Within little more than half a century, few, very few, and most of them possessed of comparatively little influence in the political circles, were known to advocate our cause. Now thousands are enlisted in it, some of whom are among the most influential characters in the nation. Then, the system of slavery was tolerated within the limits of the United States, from the Mississippi to the western confines of Massachusetts, and from the Atlantic to the farthest north-western frontier. Now, the vast extent of country, comprising the states of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, in the whole of which slavery was permitted to exist, is almost totally freed from the foul pollution. And further, a law has been enacted and enforced, positively prohibiting its extension beyond the line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, north latitude, in all the territory belonging to the republic. This great and important work has unquestionably been accomplished by the active labors of those who have exerted themselves to show the impropriety of continuing to tolerate the system, and the feasibility of its total extinction.

From this view of the subject we draw the conclusion, that as "like causes produce like effects," we have sufficient ground for the belief, that by a faithful perseverance in the

same course of benevolence, the same happy results will follow. We frankly admit that where the evil of slavery is felt to a greater extent than in the states to which we have adverted, not only must *greater exertions* be used, but even the plans of proceeding must be somewhat varied. Yet we contend that the same grand object must be kept constantly in view, and the same leading principles ever be acted on, to produce the desired result.

In locating this Convention at the city of Washington, we are actuated by the hope that influential men from different parts of the Union, may thereby become more ultimately acquainted with our proceedings, and so far as they may approve thereof, be induced to co-operate with us. From the very nature of the principles which we profess, it will be seen that our success depends wholly on the *united exertions* of the wise and virtuous. Our plans being entirely of a pacific character and having nothing in view but what is consistent with the welfare and happiness of all, we confidently rely on the wisdom of the patriot and philanthropist, and the good sense of our free, enlightened fellow-citizens, for the realization of our hopes, and the consummation of our important undertaking.

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Ordered that the Acting Committee be directed to take suitable measures to have the above address generally distributed.

Ordered, that the Acting Committee be directed to have one thousand copies of the minutes of this Convention printed and distributed to the several anti-slavery societies, and otherwise as they may deem proper.

Ordered, that the Constitution and By Laws of the Convention, be printed as an appendix to the minutes.

Ordered, that the treasurer be directed to subscribe for four copies of the "*Genius of Universal Emancipation*," to be at the disposal of the Acting Committee.

The Report of the Committee on the State of Slavery in the United States, being again considered, was amended and adopted as follows.

*To the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery, &c.*

The committee appointed (at the last session of the Convention) on the state of slavery in the United States, beg leave to report as follows:

Your committee were rather at a loss to perceive the precise design of the Convention, in the appointment of a committee on the state of slavery in the United States. But have thought proper to review the subject; first with reference to its progress; secondly in reference to the situation or treatment of slaves; and thirdly in reference to the prospect of its diminution or final removal.

First. In reference to the progress of slavery in the United States, your committee find that at the time of the first census under the Constitution in 1790, there were 694,280 slaves in the Union. These were with the exception of about 40,000, confined to a surface of about 212,000 square miles. In 1800, the number was 889,118 on a surface of 289,000 square miles or nearly so! In 1810, the number was increased to 1,191,364 and covered an extent of territory of about 431,000 square miles! At the time of the last census in 1820, the slaves in the United States and territories amounted to 1,538,178, and your committee have good reason to believe that the number at the present time or at the census of 1830, will be found to be about two millions, occupying a territory including Arkansas, of nearly 600,000 square miles!!

Your committee have been surprised at the result of their own enquiries, for they had fondly hoped that the dreadful evil was if not diminishing, at least advancing with less rapidity. From various estimates, on which your committee place much reliance, they are confirmed in the opinion, that the increase (independent of clandestine importations) must amount at the present time to at least near 50,000 per annum.

As this increase like that of population generally, is in its nature, a geometrical progression, it must continue to augment, as long as subsistence can be obtained. 'This view of the subject is truly alarming; but when we consider the extent of territory which is overspread by this foul blot on the map of our beloved country, the heart sickens at the prospect.

To behold 600,000 square miles of the best land in North America, teeming with slaves,—a surface greater, than that of many European kingdoms, held too by men who are constantly boasting of their love of liberty; sending up daily to Heaven, the sighs and groans of millions of broken hearts, while the sweat and tears and even the blood of thousands moisten its soil, must excite deep emotion in every breast, not dead to those feelings which become the patriot, or animate the christian. But furthermore your committee are of opinion that if the scheme, of adding a large portion of Mexican territory, to our south-western border, should be consummated, the price of slaves will be so enhanced and the facilities of smuggling so much increased, that the African slave trade will be greatly augmented, as well as the practice of kidnapping in the more eastern parts of our own country. So that upon the whole, your committee are of opinion, that slavery is fearfully on the increase, and that every effort is making, by many of those interested in its continuance, to multiply its victims and extend its influence. This state of things calls loudly on every friend of his country, on every friend of man, to use every effort in his power, to arrest the torrent of misery and crime.

Secondly. On the treatment of slaves,—your committee have long indulged an opinion which they believe is common with their fellow-citizens, that slaves in this country are somewhat better treated than formerly. 'This opinion seems to prevail to an extent which your committee fear, is not sustained by facts. A writer in Niles's Register for 1818, says, speaking on this subject "The favourable



change which has occurred in the treatment of negro slaves in this state (Maryland) since the revolution, must be to every benevolent mind a source of very agreeable reflections, our oldest citizens well remember when it was very customary to inflict on the manacled and naked person of the slave, the most intolerable punishments for very trivial offences. *Within the last twenty years* it has been the practice to muster all the slaves on a farm once a week, and distribute to each his peck of corn, leaving him to walk several miles, to some neighbours hand mill, to grind it himself, under cover of the night, when exhausted nature called for rest from the labours of the day; in many cases they received not an atom of animal food, and their usual bedding was a plank, or by particular kindness a single blanket."

The above writer does not specify any particulars in which the improvement spoken of is apparent, but we think all will admit that a very considerable improvement might be accomplished, and yet the treatment might be such as could not be called *good*. He adds however that "much remains to be done, which the obligation of *humanity* require."

Your committee are of opinion, that in consequence of what has been written, spoken, and done by the friends of abolition, much light has been diffused through the community even in the slave holding states, and many masters restrained by the force of public opinion, thus enlightened, have abstained from cruelties which they would otherwise have inflicted; yet we cannot but believe, that very much anguish of heart, and exquisite sufferings of body are endured by this unhappy race, even in Maryland: (and we believe they are used as well here, as in any other part of our country.)

The multitudes that are annually sold to the southern markets, by which parents and children are violently separated, and all the ties of consanguinity rent assunder, if no other indication of bad treatment were discovered; would itself speak volumes.

The treatment of slaves may be estimated with some degree of accuracy by the laws which are in force respecting them. The laws of the land are always understood to be intended for the protection of the subject, but with respect to negro slaves (in the slave states) they have an effect directly the reverse. So far from securing him in the enjoyment of happiness, his very life is placed at the mercy of any white man, (especially of his master or overseer) who may take the opportunity to kill him in the absence of any other free white person. Resistance to the will of a master or of any other white person in the absence of a master, may be punished with stripes, and if the resistance amount to striking, may be punished by imprisonment and whipping; and for a third offence the slave may suffer death! It will be perceived that by the operation of those laws, a virtuous female slave, may suffer death for defending her chastity against the ruffian assaults of a debauchee. The manner in which those laws are administered in some of the states, frequently occasions great outrages upon the common charities of our nature. The discretion rested in a court of two or three freeholders, or a single magistrate, over the persons of the accused is often exercised with great severity. In Stroud's Slave Laws, we have an account of the burning to death of a negro woman, under a law of South Carolina, so late as 1820. (See page 124, in the note.)

It appears also that the mental improvement of the slave is a thing generally deprecated by the master, and in some cases provided against by law. (see Niles's Register, April 21, 1821.)

How deplorable must be the state of that community, which supposes its safety to depend on keeping one half of its members totally ignorant, and not even able to read the Holy Scripture.

How contrary to the nature of man? how offensive in the sight of that God who "*has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth.*"

It furthermore appears that in transporting slaves from one part of the nation to another, either in the domestic slave trade or in large bodies by removals of planters, &c. they are usually chained and handcuffed, or otherwise manacled, like the vilest criminals, &c. &c.

In considering the treatment of slaves, your committee deem it necessary to notice the amount and quality of labour required of them. In some cases this is known to be extremely severe, and attended with many aggravating circumstances. Such as scarcity of supplies which are sometimes insufficient, and frequently of very inferior quality: exposure to disease, and want of proper attention in the incipient stages of sickness. The cultivation of rice one of the great staples of the Carolinas, is an instance to illustrate this point. Mr. Adams in his Geography says, "the cultivation is wholly by negroes. No work can be imagined more laborious or more prejudicial to health. They are obliged to stand in water often times mid-leg high, exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, and breathing an atmosphere poisoned by the unwholesome effluvia of an oozy bottom and stagnant water."

It appears therefore, that in the treatment of slaves in general, as well as in the legal provisions respecting them, the interest, convenience, security and inclinations of the master, constitute the only object in view; the comfort or even safety or health of the slave makes no part of the consideration, any further than it is supposed, to promote one or other of the former. Finally after taking a rapid view of this part of the subject, your committee are led to doubt whether the evils of slavery are materially lessened in certain portions of our beloved country, notwithstanding all that has been done in favour of manumission, colonization and abolition of the slave trade, &c. &c. and what it might have been at this time, if no efforts had been made to arrest its progress, is beyond human wisdom to determine.

Thirdly. In reference to the diminution or the final extinc-

tion of slavery in the Union, your committee remark, that it seems to be the expectation of all, that it must at some period cease to exist, an evil so tremendous—a practice so completely at war with all the principles of justice, mercy and truth, so repugnant to all the best feelings of human nature, and fraught with such fearful consequences to society; cannot but excite in every reflecting mind a strong desire that it should be removed. In view of the divine government, which rules all with justice and righteousness, the human mind is naturally led to expect that such oppression and cruelty must have an end.

But how this revolution in society is to be brought about, perhaps no human foresight can yet divine. If our slave holding fellow citizens could be induced to establish schools for the instruction of the rising generation among the blacks, and thus qualify them for self government, which every principle of equity requires they should do, and to teach them by precept and example the importance of moral obligation; one of the greatest obstacles would be removed. If they would introduce among them a sacred regard for the social duties, arising from marriage, and from the relations subsisting between parents and children; they might with perfect safety and great advantage to the state, be emancipated. A few years of effort of this kind, would form a class of men from whom the nation would not only have nothing to fear; but on whom she could safely rely for aid in her greatest emergency. In there present condition of abject slavery what can be expected of them, but that they should lay hold on every apparent opportunity, of regaining their freedom, and ever retorting on their masters the evils they have suffered?

Facts uniformly sustain this position; what multitudes of slaves joined the enemy during his temporary invasions of our southern coasts in the late war, notwithstanding all the efforts of the whites to prevent it? while on the contrary none were found more efficient in repelling his attacks than

the free blacks of the south. Such was their zeal and valour in defence of Louisiana, that General Jackson, the present Chief Magistrate of the Union ; bestowed on them the following eulogium.

**"TO THE MEN OF COLOUR."**

"Soldiers! From the shores of Mobile I collected you to arms ; I invited you to share in the perils, and to divide the glory of your white countrymen. I expected much from you, for I was not uninformed of those qualities which must render you formidable to an invading enemy. I knew that you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the hardships of war. —I knew that you loved the land of your nativity! and that like ourselves you had to defend all that is dear to man. But you *surpass my hopes*. I have found in you united to those qualities, that noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds." In a subsequent communication, the General in enumerating the officers whose commands had distinguished themselves, makes honourable mention of the one who led these troops in the different actions, of that memorable campaign. There are many circumstances which encourage the hope, that the time is drawing nigh when the African race shall enjoy the sweets of liberty. Their successful attempt at self government in St. Domingo, under so many disadvantages, the abolition of slavery in several of the South American provinces, and recently in Mexico, and the efforts of the British nation in their behalf, together with many other co-operating causes, seem to indicate the interposition of Divine Providence in favour of the oppressed. In HIS Almighty hand, the most inefficient causes sometimes produce the most astonishing effects, and often the very means made use of to rivet the chains of oppression are so overruled by Him as to burst the bonds they were designed to perpetuate. We may therefore rest assured that He will in his own good time crown our labours with complete success, by bringing deliverance to the captive "and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound." In the mean time let every

friend of the cause remember that ~~HE~~ **HE** has a duty to perform. Let the result be what it may, he is equally bound to oppose as far as possible, the growing evil.

It becomes us therefore to enquire how this may most effectually be done. Our opposition should be peaceable but firm. It should be the opposition of brothers not of enemies, it may be shewn by acts of kindness and forbearance, but it *must be opposition* and it *must be shown*. It may exhibit itself in peaceable efforts to protect the rights of free blacks, and instructing their offspring, or it may be shown by rational attempts to enlighten the public mind on the subject, or in encouragement of those publications that are so employed; or by memorials to congress and the state legislatures, &c. &c.

One means of considerable efficiency for exciting the public mind to the consideration of the injustice and impolicy of slavery, may probably be found in the persevering efforts now making on the part of many friends of abolition to encourage the creation and consumption of the products of free labour.

We cannot withhold the tribute of our respect and admiration from those patriotic females, who have associated for this purpose both in England and America, and heartily, recommend their example, as one worthy of universal imitation.

WM. KESLEY, Chairman.

Ordered, That the thanks of the Convention, be presented by the Vice President, to Joseph Gales, Esq. Mayor of Washington, and to the presiding officers of the Board of Aldermen and Common Council, for their politeness and attention in affording the Convention the use of the Council Chamber in the City Hall.

Ordered, That the thanks of the Convention be presented to the Vice President, for the very satisfactory manner in which he has presided over its deliberations.—Adjourned sine die.

JOSEPH PARKER, Vice President.

ROBERT P. ANDERSON, } Secretaries.  
CHARLES S. COPE. }

## APPENDIX.

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### PART I.

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[No. 1.]—Address from the Manumission Society of New York.

*To the American Convention, &c.*

The Manumission Society of New York, in addressing the Convention at this time, have but little of importance to communicate. Our schools, an object of primary importance to the friends of the African race, continue to be in a prosperous condition. We have now on our list of pupils, including males and females, upwards of six hundred scholars, whose progress in their several studies is pleasing and satisfactory; exhibiting a practical evidence of the facility with which this class of children acquire knowledge, when suitable opportunities are afforded them. We hope the different societies represented in the Convention will continue to promote, to the extent of their ability, the establishment of schools for coloured children, through which means they may be prepared for the duties of freemen. A history of the schools under our care from their first establishment, written by Charles C. Andrews, the teacher of the boys school, is now in the press. We think this little volume contains much useful information, which will be interesting to those desirous to promote the moral and intellectual improvement of these children of oppression.

We advert with peculiar satisfaction to the decree of the president of Mexico, for abolishing slavery in that extensive republic. It affords a pleasing confirmation of this truth, that the knowledge of those inalienable rights, which man possesses by virtue of his existence, is extending its benign influence among the nations. The march of the human mind towards the perfection of which its nature is susceptible, is progressive. And as knowledge increases, the right of every man to the unshackled exercise of his free agency, will be more generally acknowledged and respected.

Every example of the development of a respect for the rights of an oppressed and degraded class of our species, will be hailed by the philanthropist and the christian, as a happy omen of a more extended exercise of justice and benevolence.

We are convinced, in our own country, the cause of universal liberty is gaining ground in public opinion, particularly in some of the northern slave-holding states. The abstract right of holding mankind in bondage, seems to be abandoned as indispensable: and the question of *expediency* is now the only problem that remains to be solved. Slavery is admitted to be an *evil*; but an evil which it is difficult, if not impossible, in the opinion of many, to remove. If we would convince our Southern brethren that their *interest* would be promoted by abolishing slavery, and substituting free labour for that now performed by slaves, the consummation so devoutly to be wished, would be more than half accomplished. And that such is the *fact*, we have not a doubt. Examples within our own knowledge prove it. Whenever free labour is permitted to come in competition with slave labour, the latter has to be abandoned, because it is more expensive; and the products of free labour are brought into the market at a lower price. We have a case in point, in one of the states of Mexico, where the sugar plantations have been worked to profit by free labourers, which could not be maintained by the labour of slaves. For further particulars, we refer those desirous to examine the subject, to the Monthly Reporter, for August last. The contemplated purchase of the Province of Texas, by the United States, is a subject deeply interesting to every well-wisher to his country. The introduction of slavery into that extensive and fertile region, and the division of its territory into slave holding states, and their admission into the Union would be an event to be deplored by all true republicans. It would open an extensive market for the surplus slave population of the southern states, and convert those states into *producers* of slaves, for the profit arising from their sale; and thus the horrors of the internal slave trade would be renewed with redoubled vigor. It would be in vain, under such circumstances, to look to the general government for its suppression, or for a mitigation of its evils. So long as a majority of the states should have an interest in the purchase and sale of these degraded objects of our solicitude, so long would the internal slave trade continue:—for *interest* is the governing principle in man. It would prolong to an indefinite period the abolition of slavery in our country, and aggravate to an unlimited



extent, the already incalculable evils of an increasing slave population. These observations we make as *abolitionists*, not as *politicians*.

We enter into the examination of the subject only in relation to its bearing upon the great and important question of the continuance of slavery in our country. We do not wish to be understood to object to the purchase upon this condition, that slavery shall be forever excluded from that country. And we think that upon no other condition than that of a total prohibition of slavery, ought there ever to be any addition to our territory.

If the coloured population of the United States, or any inconsiderable portion of them, are ever to be colonized any where, so as to produce any sensible diminution of their number in the old states, there is, in our opinion, no place so elligibly situated for this purpose as Texas; its climate is congenial to their constitutions, neither subject to the extreme colds of the north, nor liable to be visited with the fatal diseases of the tropical regions of Africa and the West Indies; its vicinity to those states which are overcharged with the descendents of Africa, would afford facilities for emigration at a comparatively trifling expense. We wish the attention of the convention may be especially directed to the subject of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. For the honour of our country, let the seat of the legislative councils of a nation professing to be the asylum for the oppressed from all parts of the earth, be no longer disgraced by the existence of perpetual and unconditional slavery. Every practicable means which wisdom could devise, or sound discretion could adopt, should be brought to bear upon this important question, until the evil is irradiated. The promotion of petitions to congress from different parts of the United States, or to the state legislatures, praying that the representatives in congress may be requested to use their endeavours to accomplish this desirable object, we think, might be recommended with propriety by the convention. Relying upon your zeal in the success, we willingly vest in your discretion, to devise the *means* most likely to be effectual in the accomplishment of the end proposed, without going further into particulars. There is one other subject to which we wish to call the attention of the convention.

It is well known that the laws of some of the southern states, subject free coloured people, forced on board of our merchant vessels trading to their ports, to imprisonment as soon as they arrive in those ports, though they may be citi-

zens of New-York or Pennsylvania. Such laws plainly contravene the provisions of the federal constitution, which declares, that the citizens of any state shall enjoy all the privileges of citizens in the several states. We have no doubt, if a case were brought to issue in the highest judicial tribunal in our country, that these laws would be decided to be unconstitutional. We have, to this effect, the written opinion of three of the first legal characters in our state. The same observations will apply with equal force to the imprisonment of free blacks from the Northern and Middle States, on suspicion of being runaways. When declared free, they are still subjected, without redress, to the costs of imprisonment and trial. All laws, which sanction such innovations of the rights of freemen, we have no doubt are unconstitutional. We hope the convention will deliberate upon the means proper to be resorted to, for the purpose of testing the constitutionality of those laws. Able council, of the first order for talents and legal knowledge, have voluntarily offered to argue such a cause, in the Supreme Court gratuitously. . The funds necessary to defray the expense of bringing such a case to issue, we have no doubt, could be easily procured, without touching the funds of the convention.

We have appointed Charles Walker, James Oswald Grim, and Edmund Haviland, to represent this society in the convention.

*The Officers of the Society, are*

*President*—C. D. Colden.

*Vice Presidents,* { Geo. Newbold,  
Peter A. Jay.

*Secretary*—Thomas Hale.

*Assistant Secretary*—Richard Mott, jr.

*Treasurer*—R. C. Cornell.

*Councillors*—C. D. Colden, Benjamin Clark, John Duer, James Oswald Grim, Jabez D. Hammond, Peter A. Jay, Charles Walker, Hiram Ketchum.

*Committee of Ways and Means.*

Joseph Curlies, Chairman. Wm. C. White, Secretary.

*Committee of Correspondence.*

Joseph Curtis, Chairman. Wm. L. Stone Sec'ry.

*Standing Committee.*

Barney Corse, Chairman.      Ira B. Underhill, Sec'ry.

*Trustees of the Schools.*

Mich. W. Titus, Chairman.      Richard Field, Sec'ry.

GEO: NEWBOLD, *Vice President.*

THOMAS HALE, *Secretary.*



[No. 2.]—Address from the Pennsylvania Abolition Society

*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. &c. to be held at Washington, D. C. on the eighth of next month.*

GENTLEMEN.—We hail, with great satisfaction, the first assembling of the Convention at the seat of the National Government. It was indeed time to present to the eyes of the entire Union, in the most public and impressive manner, the concentrated and unwearied efforts of a large portion of their fellow-citizens—not confined to any particular state—not impelled by local interests, nor biassed by local prejudices, to remove if possible the blot which has so long existed on our national character.

It was right to assemble in the appropriate seat of the National Government; and there, in the face of the National Representatives, frankly and firmly to exercise the rights of freemen, in discussing, recommending, and promoting those pure and holy principles on which our separate and general associations are founded which some of them, for near half a century, have endeavoured to enforce, and which it is not expected that any of them will ever abandon.

To relax at any time in such a cause, would be a reproach—but to relax now, when all must perceive the extensive progress of enlightened and benevolent principles in other countries, would be an indelible disgrace.

It is one of the characteristics of truth, not only to bear, but to court the closest investigation, it is the attribute of justice to be confined to no limits, to be superior to the invasion of time, in a word, to be universal and immortal—erected on these two bases, the cause of universal emancipation must ultimately triumph, unless timidity or langour should

paralyse its friends—But of all countries in the world, timidity and langour ought to find no place in America.

Declared by our constitution to be all free and equal, he who has not the courage to assert his own rights, or vindicate those of others, deserves not to be considered a citizen of this great republic—unremitting industry in the pursuit of public or particular objects is one of our national characteristics—Let it not be said, that only in the dispensation of justice to the chained African, we become languid and inert. For your labours great fields lie open, the cloud of oppression hangs over the Southern and a portion of the Western parts of the union. To promote the gradual abolition of slavery among them, and to convince them that even on a worldly calculation of their own interests, their estates would be rendered more profitable by the introduction of free labour, will perhaps be one of your efforts, and if, in addition to the establishment of this truth, they can be led to perceive that the moral and religious improvement of the slave is a christian duty, and that the master may be held severely accountable for the depravity and guilt of those from whom he has withheld the means of knowledge and instruction, we may anticipate the best effects from your labours.

We are aware of all the constitutional and legal difficulties that are to be encountered in these respects. We are also aware of the force of early habits and hereditary opinions, but in the cause of truth and justice, perseverance seldom fails of success, the gradual operation of these two cardinal principles upon the inhabitants at large, must ultimately reach the members of the legislatures. Laws now in force, bearing the sullen cast of rigour and of fear; degrading the coloured man below the brutes that graze around him in the field; punishing him for indulging the sympathies of sorrow with his fellow sufferers and subjecting him to a capricious separation from his dearest connexions in life, such laws will then be exchanged for those which will permit voluntary emancipation without immediate banishment, which will allow and encourage the education of youth and after a certain age, will confer the blessings of freedom upon them.

But while we are compelled to wait for these slow results of reason and conviction in the slave holding states, why should they be so long postponed in the District of Columbia? At the mention of that imposing name, the traveller instantly calls to mind that it is a new and separated space, carved out from the whole territory of the United States for the exclusive residence and power of the general govern-

ment, that it is bound by no ancient unalterable rules, exempted in no respect from the most absolute and comprehensive legislation which the Congress may adopt, and that when the cession took place, no reservations were made by the inhabitants or by the two states that ceded the ground, and he will consequently expect to find that all within its limits are as free as the Declaration of Independence professed all to be. How must he be distressed, how must foreign nations who hear the facts, be shocked, to find that in this very district, under the daily notice of the most august legislature perhaps in the world; not only does domestic slavery prevail with all its horrors; but the slave trade, the purchasing, selling, incarcerating and transporting the manacled, weeping, unresisting slave, are openly and shamelessly carried on, we refer the Convention to the heart-rending facts stated to the house of representatives so late as the month of January last, by our excellent fellow citizen Charles Miner, Esq. then a member of Congress, whose speech might be reprinted and circulated to advantage; and we trust they will not omit to avail themselves of the strong support to be derived from the resolution of the house of representatives of Pennsylvania, in 1828, on the same subject.

Our society has little particular information to communicate; our labours in regard to the education of youth have not been intermitted, but we cannot boast of much success; we consider it however a duty not to be relinquished, and under an impression that the natural capacities of the African descendants may with proper cultivation ascend to higher attainments than is generally supposed, we have it in contemplation to establish a school in which those who are inclined, may be so instructed as to enable them to instruct others in the higher branches of an English education.

The present state of society however, forms a considerable obstacle to the elevation of any of this class of people, and it can only be the most liberal mind that will duly appreciate the attainments, or value the merits of one whose hue is deeper than his own. Among themselves there are strong distinctions of industry, integrity and success, on one side, and of laziness, dishonesty, and poverty, on the other; but we believe the relative proportions of these opposite qualities do not depend upon colour; we may at least venture to say, that among the poor in our city, the blacks are not more depraved, or more wretched than the whites, intemperance in liquors does not appear so frequent

among them, and when we recollect that the greater part of the black population comes to us from the southward, and is composed of those whom slavery has already debased; we cannot wonder at their helpless, though not hopeless condition.

The tuition of adults is almost impracticable, it has generally proved so with the Indians, and the man of colour who on his coming among us is obliged to depend on daily labour for his bread, has little time to spare for the acquisition of the arts of reading and writing, it is even difficult to impress on him the utility of sending his children to receive instruction, since their subsequent employments are likely to resemble his own, yet we must not be discouraged by the want of complete success; we must do our duty in providing the means of instruction and leave the result to that providence which justly values the humblest efforts, founded on good intentions.

The exertions now making by the Colonization societies, may perhaps revive your attention to that interesting question, but we do not presume to suggest to the Convention any course for them to pursue.

We rely upon their wisdom, their firmness, and their moderation on all the points that will come before them, and in those sentiments, we remain with great respect, your affectionate friends.

Signed by order and on behalf of the Pennsylvania Society for the promotion of the abolition of slavery, &c.

*Philadelphia, Nov. 26, 1829.*

W. RAWLE, President.

THOS. RIDGWAY, Secretary.

We have appointed the following persons Delegates to the Convention, and subjoin a list of the officers, &c. of the society for the present year.

William Rawle, Esq. L. L. D. Jonas Preston, M. D. David Weatherly, Joseph Parker, Esq. James Mott, Charles S. Cope, Esq. Thomas Earle, Esq. John Bouvier, Esq. Samuel C. Sheppard, Thomas Ridgway.

*Officers for the present year, viz.*

*President*—William Rawle.

*Vice President*—{ Jonas Preston,  
Benj. Tucker,

*Treasurer*—Henry Troth,

*Secretaries*—{ Thomas Ridgway,  
Isaac Barton.

**Board of Education.**—Isaac Barton, Edwin P. AtLee, Thomas Earle, Joseph Evans, Joseph Parker, Thomas Parker, jr. George Peterson, Thomas Ridgway, David Weatherly, Peter Wright, Charles S. Cope, Samuel C. Sheppard, James R. Wilson.

**Electing Committee.**—Joseph Todhunter, Samuel Ross, James Mott, Joseph M. Truman, Marshall Atmore, Wm. Jones, Powell Stackhouse, Robert Murphy, R. Evans, Jesse Stanly, D. C. Wood, Edwin Walter.



[No. 5.]—Address from the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania.

*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race.*

In the year 1827, the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania first participated, through its Delegates, in the deliberations of your philanthropic body ; and supported the views which actuated its members in the organization of an institution then new to the Abolitionists of this country. Continuing with confidence to entertain the sentiment, that the principles of our association if acted on by the friends of Abolition generally, must shake to the centre the mighty structure of slavery, we rejoice in the evidences we have received of the gradual advancement of our cause.

The subject of African oppression is presenting itself to the consideration of our fellow-citizens, in a more tangible form, and its horrors are found to be easily controuled by a method unexceptionable, because fully consistent with our free institutions. It is no more than the exercise of an elective franchise, for the free man to purchase the product of the labour of freemen, in preference to that of Slaves:—neither can it be construed to be any thing less than a conscientious choice between good and evil.

Among the principal causes in advancing the objects of our association. We have the pleasure to announce the establishment in the city of Philadelphia, of the Female Association for promoting the manufacture and use of free cotton. This association was instituted in January last, and consisted of thirteen females, but is now composed of more than one hundred members.

The last quarterly report of our Committee of Correspondence in allusion to the efforts of our sister institution observes “ without attributing to themselves any consurable omission of duty, the committee are fully aware how little

they have been able to perform during the past three months; but they feel grateful, that while they have been apparently *inoperative*, their zealous coadjutors, the members of the Female association have been vigilantly alive to the concern, with a freshness that knows no fatigue, because it results from that purity of heart and singleness of purpose, so peculiarly the characteristic of the virtuous female; the association has continued to move onward in the career marked out by its plan of operation, undismayed by difficulties, and only restrained by the limits of its financial abilities."

To aid them in their laudable efforts our society voted them a small donation "under a conviction that so applied it would prove eminently beneficial." They have purchased a number of balls of Free Upland cotton, which has been all spun and a portion manufactured into gingham, checks, bed-tickings, stripes, knitting and sewing cotton and cotton hose.

We have received information from Washington, N. C. that several farmers in that section of country, have commenced the cultivation of Mexican cotton, raised by freemen. The soil is found to be well adapted to its growth and produces a staple superior to all other kinds in length and fineness, and yields a greater quantity per acre.

About the time of the commencement of the Free Produce society, several stores were established in our city for the sale of such articles as were unequivocally the result of the labour of freemen. These stores continue to be maintained and receive increasing patronage.

For the satisfaction of the Convention, we subjoin the following extract from a report of one of our Grocers, viz. "Statement of amount of free sugar and molasses purchased per quarter during the current year, by C. Peirce south east corner of Third and Noble streets.

Amount purchased from Jan. 1st, to April 1st,	557 00
Amount purchased from April 1st to July 1st,	754 00
Amount purchased from July 1st to Sept. 28th,	2485 00
Making amount of purchases during the last nine months,	<hr/> \$ 3796 00
To which add the amount on hand January 1st,	300 00
	<hr/>
	Gives \$ 4096 00
From this deduct the amount now on hand, (about)	2000 00
Leaves the amount of sales on these two ar- ticles during the present year.	<hr/> \$ 2096 00

Philad. Sep. 28th 1829.

JAMES L. PEIRCE.



This, it will be recollected is a report *in part*, from one individual only. What may be the whole amount of sales of those other articles of consumption, disposed of by other individuals engaged in the same and other branches of business, we are unable to state.

The above however is sufficient to prove an increasing determination to avoid any contribution to the support of slavery, and at the same time by bringing free into fair and active competition with slave labour, to demonstrate to the slave holder, that his profits would be increased by the entire employment of free men.

Having taken a concise view of the progress of our cause in this country. it may be proper to call the attention of the Convention to the proceedings of our transatlantic brethren. The efforts now making in England to destroy the system of slavery in her West India Colonies, seem mainly directed against the consumption of their products: such is the ardour with which the cause is embraced, that many thousands of the inhabitants of Great Britain scrupulously abstain from their commodities. Anti-slavery societies countenanced by men of the first rank and influence in the kingdom, are rapidly increasing; and a host of females not less respectable have risen up, so indefatigable in their efforts, that nothing is omitted which can present the hideous monster, slavery, in bold relief. Tracts are widely disseminated among all classes of society. The albums and workbags contain prints of slaves, under the varied heart-rending conditions in which they are placed—and committees are appointed to visit every house in some of the principal towns, to urge in the touching strains of female eloquence, the necessity of abstaining from every article “stained by the blood of the negro, and watered by his tears.”

Among the numerous societies of females the Birmingham appears to be the principal. In its second report it contained the following strong appeal. “Is it for christian females to be bribed by the greater *cheapness* of this or the other article of daily consumption, to bend themselves to the support of a flagrant system of blood-guiltiness and oppression, which cries to Heaven for vengeance? And can we think the cry will not be heard? The influence of females in the minor departments (as they are usually deemed) of household affairs, is generally such, that it rests with them to determine whether the luxuries indulged in, and the conveniences enjoyed, shall come to them from the *employers* of *freemen* or from the *oppressors* of *British slaves*. When the preference is given to the latter we see therefore,

with whom the responsibility must mainly rest—we see at whose door the burden of guilt must lie. Can we do better than adopt the recorded sentiments of the highly esteemed Sir Wm. Jones, who in reference to this subject declared “let sugar be as cheap as it may, it is better to eat none, better to eat aloes or colloquintida, than violate a primary law of nature impressed on every heart not imbruted by avarice, than rob one human creature of those eternal rights of which no law on earth can justly deprive him.”

As an evidence of the zeal of this institution it is proper to state, that at Birmingham, out of a population of 100,000, only one sixth part remained unvisited from house to house by the members. And that measures had been taken to pursue the same plan in London.

Thus have we endeavoured to collect together a generalised view of the progress made in the work in which we are engaged; with the hope, that something may present itself to the Convention calculated to advance this highly important auxiliary in the cause of emancipation, believing as we do, that “so long as we give our money for the productions of slavery, we give the bounty and afford the stimulus, by which it exists, and are therefore ourselves the procurers of slavery.”

To attend the American Convention as our delegates we appoint, Joseph Parrish, Edwin P. AtLee, Henry M. Zolickoffer, and Charles Noble.

*The Names of our Officers at this time are*

*President*—William Rawle.

*Vice President*—Benjamin Tucker.

*Secretary*—Charles Noble.

*Treasurer*—Henry M. Zollickoffer.

*Committee of Correspondence*—Joseph Parker, Chairman. William Shipley Bartram, Secretary—Abraham L. Pennock, Thomas M’Clintock. William Wayne, Edwin P. AtLee, William Wharton, David Ellis, Isaac Barton, and Thomas Shipley.

The Officers of the society are also ex-officio members of this committee.

Signed on behalf of a meeting of the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania, held in Philadelphia, 11th mo. 19th, 1829.

JOSEPH PARKER, President pro. tem.  
CHARLES NOBLE, Secretary.

[No. 4.] Address from the National Anti-Slavery Tract Society  
of Maryland.

*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of  
Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race.*

The National Anti-Slavery Tract Society, respectfully report—That since our last communication to your body, nothing of importance worthy of note as respects our society has taken place.—Such is the apathy and supineness which appears to cover our land, that all efforts towards the amelioration of the condition of the unfortunate descendants of Africa are viewed in the light of encroachment on the established order of society, for so deeply has the system of slavery become rooted in the soil, that even those who are not directly interested in its continuance, are not disposed to aid by their countenance, or afford us assistance in a pecuniary manner—and thus our usefulness is checked, and our endeavours to lay before the public the train of evils attendant on a state of slavery is retarded; yet we are not disposed to retire from the conflict, or despondingly to yield the advantages which have already been obtained. We would fain hope that the clouds and darkness which hang over our land may by the efforts of the philanthropist be dispelled, and liberty, the unalienable right of man, be awarded to all.

We have appointed, Benjamin Lundy, John Needles, Rev. William Kesly and William R. Jones, to attend the Convention.

*The Officers of the Society, are as follows.*

*President*—William R. Jones.

*Corresponding Secretary*—Benjamin Lundy.

*Recording Secretary*—William H. Morgan.

*Managers*—John Needles, Daniel Raymond, David Brown, Amos West, John S. Reese, William Kesly.

*Signed on behalf of the Society,*

**WILLIAM R. JONES, President.**

*Baltimore, December 2d, 1829.*

[No. 5.]—Address from the Washington City Abolition Society.

The Washington City Abolition Society, congratulate the friends and advocates in the cause of suffering humanity, on the assembling for the first time in this city of that venerable body, which has laboured with so much disinterested zeal for human rights—the American Convention for promoting of the abolition of slavery, &c.

We have nothing new to add, to the common observation and experience of those, who have so long lamented the evils of slavery in our country.

The internal slave trade is still extensively carried on through the district, and we earnestly recommend, if nothing else can be done, that Congress will be seriously pressed, to put a stop to this odious traffic, so degrading to our character as Americans.

To attempt an elucidation of all the evils of slavery, the disgrace to our republican professions, the immoral tendency it has on our character, the injurious effects on the industry, enterprize, and we may say to the general prosperity of our common country; would only be to repeat what has been so often said and written on the same subject. But while we deem it unnecessary to dwell on the evils of slavery. It is demanded of us to say what is to be done with those that may be emancipated, if they remain amongst us; they are it is said (and we admit it in part) “pests to society, wretched and miserable to themselves, more injurious to the community at large than if they had remained in a state of bondage; and therefore it is highly improper that any man should be emancipated unless removed at once from the country.” These are *specious fallacies* well calculated to deceive and do at this time exert a powerful influence on the minds of many opposed to the system of slavery: it is therefore perceived at once that if such suggestions are admitted, slavery is to be perpetuated in the United States, for while a few honest hearted philanthropists believe in the scheme of colonizing them on the coast of Africa, (and we wish them success) it is very certain that there is not the smallest prospect of their numbers being diminished by this plan, because of the habits contracted by those accustomed to slavery, and the deception it holds out, and because no influence can be brought to bear on them so long as they are slaves: whereas if they were free and found not to answer the purposes of labourers and mechanics and therefore be-

came pests, nuisances, &c. Society displeased, dissatisfied and injured by them would be able (under providence) to provide the proper remedy by removal or otherwise: these we are persuaded must be the views of all who have a right conception of the subject.

Many slave holders begin to admit these truths "that slavery is an evil," that it is injurious to the prosperity of the country and to individuals, and say they would give them up if they only knew how. Now let us see if they are in earnest, whether some plan may not be suggested to test their sincerity. Suppose each and every individual owning slaves, lay down a rule, that by a graduated scale he will remove at his own expense, so many every year so that those having the greater number shall have removed all in twenty years from this time, let them begin at once by a course of industry and economy with those on hand; in the mean time prepare themselves and their slaves for the contemplated but certain change; We believe the blessing of God would attend such a course, and that more real enjoyment more practical benefits, would result from it than all the advantages to be derived from all the slaves on earth.

We have not the least doubt, but if Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia, were disburdened of their slaves, and would introduce the same system of industry and economy pursued by the eastern states; instead of being greatly behind them as they are, with such natural advantages as they possess, they would soon equal if not exceed them in wealth and population, and consequently all those improvements which give so high a character to the eastern portion of our country.

The friends of emancipation are charged with officiousness, in, it is said, what we have no concern; when we look at slavery in the abstract, its demoralizing tendency, its injurious consequences on the industry and enterprize of those sections of country where it most extensively exists, we ask in our turn as citizens, anxious for the character and welfare of our common country; if we ought to be unconcerned at the existence of an evil which *we know* to be so *pernicious* to society, and so disgraceful to our national character?

JOHN McCLELLAND, President.

THOMAS LEVERING, Secretary.

At a meeting of the Washington City Abolition Society, held 12th October 1829, the following persons were appointed to attend the American Convention for the abolition of slavery, &c. to be held in Washington, viz. John M. Clelland, Ulysses Ward, Jacob Janney, Robert P. Anderson, Matthew Hines, Henry Barron, Joseph C. Dawes, John M. Leod, George Crandell, and Thomas Levering.

*The Officers of the Society, are*

*President*—John M. Clelland.

*Vice President*—Ulysses Ward.

*Recording Secretary*—Thomas Levering.

*Corresponding Secretary*—Robert P. Anderson.

*Treasurer*—Josiah Bosworth.



[No. 6.]—Address from the Benevolent Society of Alexandria.

*To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery and improving the condition of the African race, to be held in Washington, the eighth of twelfth month, (December) 1829.*

At a meeting of the "Benevolent Society, of Alexandria, for improving the condition of People of Colour," held on the 15th of the 10th month, (October) 1829, the following delegates were appointed to attend the ensuing session of "the American Convention," viz. Thomas Jacobs, Samuel Cornelius, Jonathan Janney, Townshend Waugh, George Drinker, Samuel M. Janney and Benjamin Hallowell.

Signed on behalf of the Society,

**BENJAMIN HALLOWELL, Rec. Sec'ry.**

*President*—Thomas Jacobs.

*Vice President*—Jonathan Janney.

*Corresponding Secretary*—Samuel M. Janney.

*Recording Secretary and Treasurer*—Benj. Hallowell.

*Standing Committee*—Thomas Jacobs, Jonathan Janney, George Drinker, Abijah Janney, Townshend Waugh, Benjamin Hallowell, Benoni Wheat, Samuel M. Janney.

[No. 7.] Address from the Manumission Society of North Carolina.

*To the American Convention, for the Abolition of Slavery, to be held in Washington City, D. C. on the second Tuesday in December next.*

**HIGHLY ESTEEMED FRIENDS,**—The return of another session of your excellent institution, affords us more than ordinary pleasure, especially as we are not only called upon to witness the glorious continuance, and we trust increasing strength of your humane and benevolent operations, but have the privilege of again participating at least in some degree, in that interchange of feeling and sentiment, which affords the strongest consolation to philanthropists, short of the glorious completion of their benevolent designs; and we doubt not, but you will be cheered, at least in a measure, on being informed, that we are still struggling with the monster, determined to continue our feeble operations in opposition to the principle and practice of slavery, while we shall be permitted to work, or until we shall have witnessed the downfall of the alarming evil of which we complain.

Nor do we believe that our labour has been in vain: for although we cannot as yet realize the extent of our earnest and laudable wishes, yet we have much to *encourage* us, and much to render us thankful to that Almighty donor of all good, that we have ever had manly and brotherly feelings excited within us, towards the shivering sons of Africa's burning and desolated land; and that prompted by a high sense of natural justice, which we believe is possessed by all men, in a greater or less degree, we have engaged in, rescuing them from *oppression* and *infamy*, by advocating the claims of justice in their favour, against the unjustifiable encroachments of *violence*, *rapine*, and *injustice*. When we reflect upon what our labours have already achieved, we have much to excite us to diligence in future—when we contemplate what yet remains to be done, we rejoice, that while many who profess friendship to our cause are in a state of lethargic inactivity, the light which we are endeavoring to disseminate is gradually illuminating and expanding the minds and awakening the dormant energies of others, who come forward to the work, with a zeal and fervor ominous in some degree of that triumph which humanity and kindness must finally obtain over cruelty and violence. That we may the better succeed in our enterprize, we have

engaged more assiduously than heretofore in spreading abroad our principles in relation to this "*awfully delicate*" subject, by which means we hope to remove the deep rooted prejudice of some; to expose the sordid avarice of others; and to overcome the ignorance (in relation to this subject) of more, which have been such insuperable bars in the way of our operations, from our commencement, as manumissioners, until now. To do this more effectually we have taken such measures as we think will best promote a rapid and general circulation throughout the association: to effect which, the Board of Managers have eight corresponding secretaries, with their duties assigned, regularly distributed throughout the association, to assist them.

This we have undertaken from an impression that much of the indifference and neglect with which this subject is treated by many, grows out of that kind of ignorance which men generally have more by choice than necessity; but which has its seat in that want of reflection on general principles of moral rectitude and universal right, which by the by is one of the most wretched consequences in which we are involved by the fall and which can only be remedied by bringing facts to bear upon their minds, in a manner that must bring them to reflection: For we must all agree that notwithstanding, there exists much prejudice, violence and injustice in the world, yet there is much reason, humanity and benevolence constitutionally in the human character. Hence our appeals to the public, in many cases meet with a favourable reception, because made to beings possessing naturally and constitutionally above all others, a high sense of moral and natural justice. In this way, we trust that much latent energy will be enlisted in our cause, and that much of the clamorous "*hue and cry*" which has been raised against us will be silenced.

And on this subject we beg leave to make one suggestion to your Convention, which we think, will, if warranted by the state of the finances, prove of vital consequence to the cause of emancipation. Let a standing committee be appointed as near the centre or seat of operations as possible, for the purpose of receiving, examining, and publishing, such facts and circumstances as may be procured in relation to the subject of slavery in all its bearings; in relation to the slave trade both foreign and domestic; in relation to kidnapping; in relation to abuse of slaves by individuals; in relation to the unjust, not to say inhumanly barbarous treatment of slaves, and free negroes, also, in many cases in the slave



holding states, under unjust and iniquitous laws ; and in relation to whatever may be deemed calculated to aid our glorious undertaking in any way. To afford this committee materials to act upon, let a suitable number of the most active and intelligent members of each Abolition, Manumission and Anti-Slavery societies in the United States be appointed to correspond with this committee ; and to furnish said committee from time to time, with such facts and documents, as they may be able to obtain on any of the above mentioned subjects, illustrating the evils of slavery, and showing the wretched condition of the African race in the country. All this we submit to your superior judgment, to be disposed of as you may think best.

Owing to the distance, and the state of the finances of this association, being at this time supposed to be insufficient to defray our home expenses, and send a delegation to your Convention, our last association directed, the board of managers to draw up a communication, and forward it on to your Convention, together with the sum assigned by last Convention, to be paid by this association. We yet hope that the time will come when we can be personally represented in your Conventional councils, until then be assured however of our devoted attachment to the cause of humanity and justice.

The names of our officers for the present year are the following:

*President*—Benjamin Swaim.

*Secretary*—William Swaim.

*Treasurer*—Zimri Stuart.

*Managers.* { William Swaim,  
Amos Weaver,  
William Reynolds,

Signed on behalf of the Board of Managers by

WILLIAM SWAIM, *Chairman.*

## **PART II.—NO. 1.**

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### **CONSTITUTION**

**OF**

### **THE AMERICAN CONVENTION**

*For promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race.*

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A consideration of the injustice, immorality and impolicy of **SLAVERY**, having induced in various parts of the United States, the establishment of **SOCIETIES** for promoting its abolition, protecting that portion of the coloured population who are legally free, and improving the condition of the African race ; and **THEY**, in order more completely to carry into effect their humane intentions, having formed an Association, composed of Delegates from each Society, have adopted for its government, the following

### **CONSTITUTION.**

#### **ARTICLE I.**

1. This Convention shall embrace every suitable occasion for advancing the common purposes of the Societies represented ; it shall specially superintend the interests of the coloured population of the United States, and shall be known by the name and title of "**THE AMERICAN CONVENTION FOR PROMOTING THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, AND IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF THE AFRICAN RACE.**"

2. The Convention shall be composed of such representatives, as the respective Societies associated to protect the rights of free persons of colour, or to promote the abolition of slavery, within the United States may think proper to appoint, provided that the number from any one Society shall not exceed ten.

3. All questions which shall come before the Convention, shall be decided by a majority of votes, except such as relate to the Constitution, and are hereafter provided for.

## ARTICLE II.

1. The Convention shall meet biennially in the city of Washington, D. C. on the second Monday in January. It may adjourn from time to time, to such place as it may deem proper, and may be specially convened as is hereinafter provided.

2. A representation from three Societies shall be a quorum to transact business, but adjournments may be made by a smaller number.

## ARTICLE III.

1. The Officers of the Convention shall consist of a **PRESIDENT, VICE PRESIDENT, TWO SECRETARIES, A TREASURER AND THREE COUNSELLORS**, who shall be elected by ballot at the stated meetings of the Convention, and at any other meetings when vacancies shall occur.

2. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Convention and preserve order therein. He shall have no vote in the decision of questions, except when there shall be an equal division.

3. The Vice President shall perform the duties of President, in the absence of that officer.

4. The Secretaries shall keep accurate minutes of the proceedings of the Convention.

5. The Treasurer shall keep the monies and other personal property of the Convention. Before he enters upon the duties of his office, he shall give to the President, for the use of the Convention, a bond in the sum of one thousand dollars, or in such other sum as the Convention may direct, for the faithful discharge of his trust. He shall furnish to the Convention at its stated meetings, and at other times when required, a statement of his accounts, and shall pay all orders drawn upon him by the Convention, or its Acting Committee.

6. The Counsellors shall be ex-officio, members of the Convention, and entitled to participate in its deliberations. They shall, when requested so to do, give their opinion upon such legal subjects, as may claim the attention of the Convention.

## ARTICLE IV.

1. An Acting Committee shall be appointed at the stated meetings of the Convention, and at other times, when a new

arrangement may be expedient, to superintend and transact such business as may require attention during the recess of the Convention. They shall have power to supply any vacancies which may occur in their body.

2. The Acting Committee shall appoint a Chairman and Secretary, keep minutes of their transactions, and be subject to such rules for their government as the Convention may prescribe.

3. In case of the death or absence of any officer of the Convention, the Acting Committee, if necessary, shall make a temporary appointment to supply the vacancy during the recess of the Convention.

#### ARTICLE V.

1. All funds of the Convention, arising from contributions or otherwise, shall be at its sole disposal; special attention being at all times had to the exigencies of individual societies.

2. All orders drawn upon the Treasurer by the Convention shall be signed by the President, and one of the Secretaries, and those drawn by the Acting Committee, in performance of duties required by the Convention, shall be signed by their Chairman and Secretary.

#### ARTICLE VI.

1. Special meetings of the Convention may be called in cases of emergency, by the President, at the request of any two Societies of different States: due notice of which meetings shall be communicated by him to the several Societies, and to the Acting Committee of the Convention.

2. Additions and amendments to this Constitution shall be proposed at least *six months* previous to their adoption, and shall only be enacted with the concurrence of two thirds of the members convened.

## BY-LAWS.

1. As soon as a quorum of members is present, the President or in his absence the Vice President, or in the absence of both, the President appointed for the time, shall take the chair, and call the Convention to order; after which no member shall depart without leave of the presiding officer.

2. The President shall preserve order and decorum, put all motions when they are seconded, appoint all committees unless otherwise ordered, and see that all the By-Laws are observed. His decisions shall be conclusive and final, unless an appeal therefrom be made to the Convention by at least three members.

3. It shall be the duty of the Secretaries to furnish the Chairman of every committee with a copy of the Resolution under which they are appointed.

4. After the roll has been called, the order of the business shall be as follows:

The minutes of the last preceeding meeting shall be read, and if necessary corrected, as to matters of mistake or form.

Reports of committees shall be called for; after which any business may be proceeded on, at the pleasure of the Convention.

5. Every member presenting a paper to the chair, shall first state its general purport: no debate shall be entered into on any motion, unless that motion be seconded, and stated from the chair; all motions shall, if requested by two members, or by the President, be reduced to writing. No member shall speak more than twice upon any one question, without leave of the Convention, and when he does speak shall rise and address the President, from his place.

6. While a subject is under consideration, no motion shall be made, except to amend, divide, commit, or postpone it; but a motion to adjourn, shall always be in order, and shall be decided without debate.

7. Every member on a committee shall attend the call of the chairman, who shall be the first named on the committee.

8. No motion for re-consideration shall be permitted unless made and seconded by members who were in the majority on the original question; nor then, unless made at the same meeting as the decision, or at the next meeting after it.

9. The yeas and nays shall be entered on the minutes, at the request of any five members.

10. No rule of Convention shall at any time be dispensed with, unless two-thirds of the members present concur.

**FINIS.**